

FINAL REPORT

**Security Awareness and the
Climate of Public Opinion:
An Analysis of Recent Trends**

by

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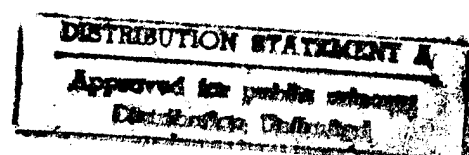
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19. (Continued) personal honesty; obedience or respect for authority; organizational and group loyalty; and attitudes about personal privacy in general and in particular about the intrusion of government into private matters in the interest of national security. The implications for intelligence security of certain attitudes and trends in public opinion are discussed.

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Introduction

We usually do not think of counterespionage and intelligence security measures as being affected by the climate of public opinion. Intelligence threats are seen as coming either from foreign agents or troubled individuals beset by personal problems or character flaws. But, as the Oxbridge recruitments in Great Britain in the 1930s illustrate, at certain times and places societal conditions can provide a more (or less) hospitable climate for espionage. As societal conditions shift, one must first recognize how the changes may undermine intelligence security and second develop procedures to maintain security despite the changes. Security awareness means not only keeping up with the latest technologies for gathering and protecting information, but also understanding how changes in the climate of public opinion may alter our ability to maintain security.

Public opinion can affect security in several ways, through its impact on 1) the pool of potential employees, 2) current employees, 3) security personnel, and 4) legislation and executive regulations. Public opinion on various security-related issues affects 1) the quality and quantity of potential employees, 2) the resolve of current employees to remain both diligent and loyal, 3) the dedication and ability of security personnel to carry out their duties, and 4) the passage of legislation and regulations about permissible counterespionage measures such as wiretaps, employment screening, and background checks. In brief, public opinion impacts on intelligence security in many ways.

Those engaged in security awareness training must know their target audiences in order to get the security message across effectively. In order to know how best to reach your intended audience and to motivate their diligence, you must know what values, concerns, and predispositions they bring with them. Like both teachers and politicians, you must "know your audience" to insure that your message is received, understood, and acted upon.

Data and Methods

Information on public opinion about security-related issues was gathered from scores of surveys from over 25 different survey organizations. To assess the current state of opinion and the likely direction of public opinion in the near future, we have employed whenever possible trend and cohort analysis.

Trend analysis involves the tracking of recent changes in attitudes. It allows us to clearly compare the present with the past and gives us some limited insight into future conditions.

Cohort analysis compares how attitudes differ across age groups. Age differences can be a function of either aging (maturation) or generational changes across birth cohorts. For example, older men are more likely to be bald than younger men. This is a result of their age, not the impact of the historical period in which they were raised and now live. Older men on the other hand are also more likely to favor traditional roles for

women. This is not a function of their biological age, but of the times and culture in which they were raised. That is, each successive generation was raised in a society that was more accepting of modern roles for women, so each succeeding generation of men is less supportive of the traditional viewpoint on women. When age differences are due to cohort effects rather than aging effects, one can usually count on change continuing to slowly shift towards the position of the younger cohorts since 1) cohort turnover means that as the older generation dies off and is replaced by the incoming generation, its attitudes will also "die off" and be replaced by incoming ideas and 2) at least in the short term the attitudes of future generations (i.e. people becoming adults over the next decade) will usually resemble the attitudes of the current generation of younger adults more than the attitudes of older adults.

Utilizing the fact that the youth opinions of today tend to become the adult opinions of tomorrow, we have included in our analysis three major youth studies: the Gallup Teen Surveys of 13-17 year olds, the Monitoring the Future surveys of high school seniors, and the Cooperative Institutional Research Program's survey of first-year college students.

Finally, we will at least occasionally be able to carry out time series, cohort analysis (i.e. how the attitudes of age groups have changed over time). By examining whether opinion changes at the same rate and in the same direction across different age groups, we can detect recent, generational effects.

Security-Related Attitudes

There are many societal attitudes that touch upon security matters in one way or another. Table 1 lists the main topics which have implications for maintaining security. In the table we list in parentheses the condition for each topic that would tend either directly or indirectly to make it more difficult to maintain security. For example, we would expect counterespionage to be more difficult as the degree of perceived threat from external sources declined, since both employees and security personnel might become less diligent in maintaining security and more susceptible to recruitment by "harmless" foreign powers. Similarly, an increase in concerns about personal privacy might lead to legislation restricting counterespionage measures, to a shrinking pool of potential employees who would be willing to subject themselves to security checks and surveillance, or to less cooperation by current employees. Some of the measures are immediate and direct indicators of security-related matters (e.g. items on various counterespionage and employee screening procedures). Others are only indirect and partial measures of social conditions that could play a role in maintaining security (e.g. personal and work-related values). In the following sections we will examine what the current opinions and trends are for each of these topics and how the public's attitudes on these topics impact on intelligence security.

Table 1

Trends in Public Opinion Related to Intelligence Security

A. External Threat (Less)

1. Soviet Union/Communism
2. Terrorists
3. Nuclear Proliferation
4. Economic Competition

B. Military Preparedness

1. Defense Spending (Less)
2. Disarmament (Approve) and Military Power (Disapprove)
3. Military Service/Draft (Opposed)

C. Support for the Government and the Military (Less)

D. Patriotism (Not Patriotic)

1. Pride
2. Expressed Patriotism
3. My Country Right or Wrong
4. Symbols: The Flag and National Anthem
5. Citizen of the World
6. Patriotism and Politics

E. Support for CIA (Against)

F. Personal Values

1. Obedience (Reject)
 - a. Children
 - b. Citizens
 - c. Soldiers
2. Honesty (Reject)
 - a. Children
 - b. School
3. Conformity (Reject)
4. Individual Expression (Approve)
5. Work Values (Alienated) and Relations (Poor)

G. Privacy (Approve)

H. Counterespionage Measures (Oppose)

1. Wiretapping
2. Lie Detectors
3. Drug Testing
4. Employee Screening
5. Personal Information and Credit Checks

Table 1 (continued)

6. Other

I. Public Access to Information

1. Freedom of Information Act (Approve)
2. Media Publication (Approve)
3. Other

J. Punishments

1. Capital punishment (Oppose)
2. Pollard (Lenient)

K. Goals and Priorities (Not security oriented)

External Threats

Soviet Union/Communism

During the four decades of the Cold War, Communism and the Soviet Union were the dominant threat to the United States. Both in terms of military power and espionage, the Soviet Union and its allies were our chief adversaries. Naturally, the government, military, and the public directed most of their attention and efforts to monitoring and meeting this threat.

But as the Cold War thawed and Communism crumbled from the mid-1980s on, the public's regard for the Soviet Union increased and the perceived threat from the Soviet Union declined markedly. For example, in 1982 51% strongly disliked (-4 or -5 on a scale from +5 to -5) the Soviet Union, while in 1993 only 12% felt the same way. Likewise, while 67% saw the Soviet Union as a serious or very serious threat in 1986 only 23% see the same degree of threat in November, 1991 (after the failed coup). When specifically asked about the successor states to the Soviet Union, the threat that they posed was judged as even less (20% serious or very serious) than that of the disintegrating Soviet state itself (23%).

As long as reform continues in Russia, it is likely that the public's assessment of threat from this quarter will be low. There is likely to be little push from cohort turnover since adults of various ages differ little in their appraisal of Russia, although younger adults are less likely to consider Communism as the worst form of government in the world.

In recent years the public has come to rate other countries and international situations as greater threats to the United States than Communism or the Soviet Union. In 1989 the Soviet Union was still ranked as the number one threat, followed by Japan and China, but by late 1991 Japan was deemed the top threat with China second and the Soviet Union third. Likewise, as early as 1988 the public ranked Soviet aggression 6-7th among a list of threats to

"our country's national security interest" behind such matters as drug trafficking, the spread of biological and chemical weapons, nuclear proliferation, and terrorism.

The public's assessment of threat has and will continue to change with both the underlying political and military realities in the world and what regions are hot spots and what events are making headlines at the moment. As situations change, so will public opinion. For example, in late 1989 the Soviet Union was still seen as the greatest threat to the United States over the next ten years, followed by Japan, China, Iran, and Libya. It is particularly instructive that Iraq did not make this most threatening list. The absence of Iraq underscores two important points. First, public opinion reflects how people perceive matters according to conditions at the time they are questioned. Changing conditions will change opinion. Second, the "surprise" emergence of the Iraqi threat amply validates then-President Bush's, pre-invasion warning that in the near future "uncertainty" will be our greatest threat.

While the threat of Communism and the former Soviet Union has greatly diminished in the public's mind, new or newly recognized threats such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and economic competition are serious concerns to many people. While not as simple and focused as the old Communist threat, a plethora of threats are now recognized by the public.

Terrorists

With the diminution of the Red Menace the public has come to consider terrorists as a greater threat to America. In 1990 80% thought that "terrorism supported by such countries as Libya, Iraq, and Iran" was the greatest threat to "security of the United States" while only 15% named the "military power of the Soviet Union." Terrorism is a concern that personally reaches many people. During 1989-1992 between 7-10% reported personally changing travel plans because of terrorism, 13% reported heightened security at their workplace during the Persian Gulf War, and 22-27% reported being personally worried about a terrorist attack near them. At the start of the Persian Gulf War 27% personally felt a "sense of danger from terrorist acts" where they lived and worked. As the war swiftly moved towards victory, this dropped to 19% and after the war's conclusion fell to 12% (See Appendix 1: The Impact of the Gulf War on Public Opinion).

When placed on a more general level, concern about terrorism is even higher. Between 52-66% are "very concerned" about a terrorist attack in the United States. The public has also had substantial doubts about the government's handling of the problem. In 1990 26% judged the Bush administration's anti-terrorist efforts as excellent or good and 55% gave Bush a grade of A or B. During the Gulf War evaluations improved and at that point 76% gave Bush an A or B.

Nuclear Proliferation

The public thinks that nuclear proliferation is an important issue, but what priority it deserves is unclear.

1. In 1988 52% said "the spread of nuclear weapons to Third World countries" was an extremely serious security threat, second only to international drug trafficking (53%) among 14 problems.
2. In late 1990 59% said "preventing the spread of nuclear weapons" was very important, 5th of 15 problems
3. In late 1991, 56% stated it was an extremely important goal, first on a list of 15 goals.
4. In late 1992 out of eight problems that Clinton should tackle "as soon as he takes office" only 1% chose containing nuclear weapons, tied for last with helping Russia convert to a market economy and ending the war in Bosnia. The top five choices were all domestic concerns.

Thus, controlling nuclear proliferation ranks anywhere from the top to the bottom on public priority lists. Its variable position depends in part on whether it is compared to other foreign policy items or to both international and domestic concerns. Especially since the recession of 1990-91 and the end of the Gulf War domestic concerns have usually topped foreign policy issues. In addition, while nuclear proliferation is seen as potentially a very serious matter, many people apparently do not consider it a real and present danger. As such it is something that can be put off while immediate crises and ills are dealt with. Finally, the public appears more troubled when the image of nuclear terrorism is invoked than when items merely refer in general to the spread of nuclear weapons.

Economic Competition

In the 1990s the public judges foreign economic competition as a greater problem than either Communist expansion (85% vs. 6%) or the threat of war (87% vs. 8%). While many admit that America's weakness is partly due to our own shortcomings, a substantial minority blames unfair foreign practices and a substantial majority wants the government to strengthen our business and/or fight back against foreign companies and governments. Both the recent increased public concern about economic matters in general and foreign, economic competition in particular and the apparent growth of economic espionage (McCarroll, 1993; Nelan, 1993; Yates, 1993a; 1993b), suggest that this might be an area of particular importance to the public.

Military Preparedness

Defense Spending

Support for a strong defense and military preparedness varies inversely with external threat. As the international climate heats up, support grows and when foreign relations improve, support diminishes. Support for defense spending was low in the early 1970s in the immediate aftermath of the Vietnam War. In 1972 only 12% favored more money for the military. Support for more spending slowly grew during the rest of the 1970s until in 1978 29% backed more defense spending. Then the invasion of Afghanistan more than doubled support for defense spending to 60% in 1982. As real defense spending rose in the 1980s and the Soviet threat diminished, support for military expenditures fell until by 1990 it reached an historic low of 11%. Support for defense spending then surged in 1991 in response to the Gulf War. Most of the change however was a decline in the percent saying there was too much spending (from 44% to 28%) and a rise in the % saying that spending was about right (45% to 58%). Those wanting more spending rose only to 14.5%. Support quickly returned to pre-war levels and in 1993 a the historic low of 1990 was again reached.

Without an increase in perceived external threat low support for defense spending is likely to persist, especially since younger adults are less supportive of defense spending than are older generations.

Disarmament and Military Power

While support for defense spending has waned in the 1980s, support for disarmament has been strong and growing. In 1990 78% endorsed cuts in nuclear weapons going beyond the currently agreed upon START reductions and 74% favored the elimination of all nuclear weapons. Since the mid-1980s, two-thirds of first-year college students have thought that the United States is not doing enough to promote disarmament while a growing proportion (from 52% in 1985 to 68% in 1992) have judged that nuclear disarmament is attainable. Among high school seniors support for gradual, unilateral disarmament climbed from 15% in 1979 to 29% in 1992. On the issue of maintaining military superiority, high school seniors are very divided. In 1992 33% opposed this goal, 29% were in the middle, and 38% supported it. Except for a boost in 1991 due to the Gulf War support for military superiority had shown little change since the mid-1980s.

Military Service/Draft

At the same time the willingness of high school seniors to serve in the military in a future war has been tepid with less than 20% saying that they would be very likely or sure to volunteer. Moreover, this fell from 18% in 1987 to 15.5% in 1992. This probably reflects the fact that relatively few actually joined the

armed forces to serve in the Gulf War and the fact that the military has not been expanding recruitment in recent years. In addition, a military draft has not been popular with high school seniors. In 1992 only 14% favored instituting a military draft, down slightly from 17% in 1981. On the other hand, national service which included, but was not limited to military service, is considerably more popular among teens. In 1992 52% favored mandatory national service for young men and 47% supported it for young women.

The military draft has been more favored among the general public, but even among adults a majority oppose it. From 1987 to 1991 between 34-45% backed the reinstatement of the draft. There has been no trend, not even due to the Gulf War, and most of the small differences are probably due to differences in question wording.

Overall, both among the general public and youths support for military spending is at record lows (after a Gulf War blip), while support for disarmament is high. There is also a reluctance among youths to serve in a future war or to support a military draft. Support for military service and defense has not changed notably in recent years however.

Support for the Government and the Military

Support for the government in general and the military in particular is indicated by questions about confidence in the leaders of these institutions, whether the government does what is right, special interests, the honesty and morality of the leaders, the job these institutions are doing for the country, the amount of influence that they have, and willingness to work for these institutions. Looking at the executive branch and the presidency we see somewhat of a roller coaster trend as confidence and other measures have fallen in response to difficulties and scandals and risen as the elections of new presidents usually rekindled hope. For example, in 1973 (after the Watergate break-in, but before the disclosures) 30% had a great deal of confidence in the executive branch of the federal government. This fell to 14% in 1974-76 after Watergate became widely known, rebounded to 29% in 1977 with President Carter's inauguration, fell to a record low of 12.5% in 1980 during foreign policy and economic troubles, moved back up with President's Reagan's election, fell again to 13% during the 1982-83 recession, edged up to 21% in 1986, slumped back to 17% in 1988 as the Iran-Contra scandal emerged, then again gained ground to 24% in 1990 after President Bush's election, and finally fell to an historic low of 12% in 1993.

The two main lessons from this two decade pattern are 1) there has been no long-term, linear trend in confidence in government and 2) confidence is mainly a product of performance; scandals, economic hardship, and foreign policy failures drive down support.

However, the pattern emerging in the 1990s does suggest a deeper and more widespread dissatisfaction with government than has been seen since at least Watergate. Among adults confidence in the

executive branch and Congress are at record lows and all time highs of 76% agree that public officials are not interested in the problems of the average citizen and 76-77% say that the government can be trusted only some of the time or never. Among students there was an unusually large increase in 1992 in dissatisfaction with "the way our national government is operating;" in agreeing that the government can not be trusted, is run by a few big interests, and is crooked and dishonest; in disagreeing that "our system of doing things is still the best in the world;" and in saying that the president and administration is doing a poor job. This political alienation is similar across age groups.

However, so far this growing cynicism and mistrust has not translated into more reluctance of high school seniors to consider working for the government. Moreover, they have not turned to rejecting government as a potential solver of national problems. They are however shifting away from the status quo of saying that the president and the administration have the right amount of influence. In 1992 those saying the government should have less influence moved up 3 percentage while those saying it should have more influence increased by 5 percentage points. Likewise among adults there has been only a modest drop in confidence in "our system of government" and Clinton's election apparently helped to lower from 80% to 68% the proportion thinking that the country is run by big special interests.

Nor has the political alienation translated into growing support among either students or adults for right- or left-wing radicalism. Traditional Republican and Democratic party identification remains stable and few students report that they hold political views that would prevent them from getting the kind of work they would like.

Support for the military does not undergo nearly as much fluctuation as presidential support. Among all adults confidence in the military was a bit higher in the early 1970s than in the late 1970s and 1980s. However, the Gulf War greatly boosted faith in the military and, while confidence had subsided by 1993, it remained higher than before the war. A similar pattern prevails for high school seniors.

However, praise of the military because of its success in the Gulf War does not carry very far. In 1992 fewer seniors felt that the influence of the military should be increased (in line with their beliefs that defense spending should be reduced and disarmament pursued). In addition, working for the military is not seen as more desirable than in past years, nor has support for a draft, or willingness to serve in a war grown (see above).

While support for the government has notably weakened in recent years, there are so far no signs of deep political alienation that might indicate a popular unwillingness to back the country or encourage anti-government action and disloyalty.

Patriotism

While some of the measures we have examined so far such as

willingness to serve in the military and confidence in our system of government certainly relate to patriotism, here we examine more direct measures - expression of national pride and being patriotic, belief in the maxim "my country right or wrong," and attachment to patriotic symbols such as the flag. In addition, the political importance of patriotism is considered.

Pride

Americans express a great deal of pride in being citizens of the United States. Such expressions have been strong at least since the early 1980s, but appear to have been particularly high during the Gulf War. However, there is one item that compares the United States to other countries that suggests there was a large drop in national pride at some point between 1955 and 1991.

Expressed Patriotism

Americans typically see themselves as patriotic. Such declarations were especially high during the Gulf War (and the public itself says that the war increased its patriotism). However, expressions of patriotism have fallen off since the war.

My Country Right or Wrong

Since the late 1980s the majority of Americans have endorsed the Stephen Decatur's sentiment that people should stand-up for and fight for the country whether it is "right or wrong". Except for a moderate increase in this belief during the Gulf War, support for this proposition has been stable.

Symbols: The Flag and National Anthem

Americans show a great deal of attachment to our national symbols such as the flag and national anthem. Flag displaying (if not flag waving) is a widespread, but not majority, practice. A majority (78%) does endorse teaching children the pledge of allegiance to the flag and few people (2%) feel that the flag is displayed too much. Similarly, only 2% want to hear the national anthem played less.

Citizen of the World

Despite the expressions of pride, patriotism, and allegiance, many find the idea of supra-national, world unity to be an appealing concept and goal. Support for the United Nations is quite high and substantial majorities want to increase its authority into new areas and enhance its military capacity (data not shown). Likewise, a majority of high school seniors agree "it would be better if all felt more like citizens of the world than of any particular country." However, support for world citizenship slipped from 60% in 1980 to 54% in 1992.

Patriotism and Politics

In the 1992 election Bush was consistently rated as more patriotic than Clinton and Republicans in general were seen as somewhat more patriotic than Democrats. But patriotism was not ranked highly as a factor in deciding who to vote for president. When asked to choose between five "qualities and values that people might look for in a president," "patriotic, believes in America" finished last. Similarly, when asked to volunteer "what is the single most important characteristic or qualification" for being president, "patriotism/morality" tied for last with only 1%.

In expressive and symbolic terms, patriotism has been strong among Americans and was boosted even further by the Gulf War. However, the Gulf War effect wore off quickly and patriotism does not seem to have many specific, concrete consequences. For example, desire to serve in the military is low, faith in government is weak, and the "patriotic" candidate and winner of the Persian Gulf War lost re-election.

Support for the CIA

Since the early 1970s public support for the CIA has been mixed and fluctuating. In the 1970s majorities (52-64%) rated the CIA positively on a 10-point scale, but pluralities rated the job the CIA was doing as "negative" (only fair or poor vs. pretty good or excellent). From 1985 to 1990 pluralities or small majorities (38-50%) had favorable impressions of the CIA. In 1991 the favorability of the CIA virtually matched that of Congress and then Vice-president Quayle.

Support weakened in the mid-1970s after Watergate disclosures, then rebounded in the late 1970s. Support probably continued at or above the level of the late 1970s into the mid 1980s, sagged in 1986-87 as Iran-Contra became public, then rebounded by 1990. Support thus has shown short-term declines in the face of political scandals that touched the CIA, but no strong long-term trend.

The public also wants to redirect the CIA in the post Cold War era. As is the case for the military, the public now wants to reduce spending for the CIA. In fact, support for intelligence spending is even less than support for defense spending. As of late 1991 the Soviet Union was still the public's number one target for intelligence, but 78% favored concentrating on some other country or did not know where to focus our spying.

Personal Values

Obedience

Since most security breaches involve conscious disloyalty (usually against both an employer and the country), the value of obedience is clearly related to intelligence concerns. There are various questions about obedience: parental obedience as a

desirable trait for children, citizens obeying the law and government, and soldiers following orders. Parental obedience is highly ranked as a desired trait in children. Out of 13 traits obedience ranks third after honesty and having good sense and sound judgement and is well ahead of good manners, trying hard to succeed, neatness, self-control, acting like a boy/girl, getting along well with other children, being responsible, being considerate of others, being interested in how things happen, and studiousness. However, while there has been little change in the ranking of parental obedience in recent years, the proportion ranking obedience first did decline from 21-23% in 1986-88 to 18.5% in 1993. Moreover, obedience is ranked more highly by adults over 50 than it is by younger generations. This could point to some further decreases in the future.

Americans see themselves as loyal to their country (In 1992 54% said that Americans can be described as "loyal to their country." This trait was ranked 2nd out of 18, behind only concern for the environment.) But in terms of citizen obedience people are about evenly split between the importance of obeying the law and following their own conscience. For example, in 1990 57% believe there are circumstances under which people should follow their own consciences and break the law, while 43% believed there were no exceptions. High school students are also deeply divided on the matter of obeying the law. In 1992 42% agreed "You can't be a good citizen unless you always obey the law," 37% disagreed, and 21% neither agreed nor disagreed. Moreover, support for this proposition has waned over the last decade. Most high school seniors (68% in 1992) do agree that you can be a good citizen if you disagree with the government. Thus, the public is supportive of dissent, but divided about whether people should ever disobey the law. This opinion has shown little change over the last two decades.

On military obedience, in 1975 33% of high school seniors agreed that servicemen should "obey orders without question." This increased to a high of 47% in 1983/84 then slipped back to 42% in 1989. The Gulf War moved support back up to 45% in 1991, but by 1992 only 38% endorsed this idea.

Obedience is and remains an important value to Americans. But obedience is far from unconditional. Most are unwilling to blindly follow authority in all circumstance and may question automatic adherence to all laws and orders.

Honesty

Honesty has been consistently ranked as the most important trait for children to have (see Obedience above). There has been no change over time in its rank and there are no significant differences across age groups. Similarly, honesty is the number one characteristic that people want in a friend (well above wanting friends to be responsible, fun-loving, intelligent, creative, cultured, or dynamic). Also, honesty is the trait that people most frequently chose to describe their family. Among teenagers, 89-90%

say honesty is very important for a person their age to learn. This places it second out of eight traits behind only responsibility.

In addition, the vast majority of people say it is wrong to cheat the government by underpaying taxes or falsely obtaining undeserved government benefits.

There is some information on the actual honesty of Americans, although only in regards to cheating at school and the evidence is contradictory. Among teenagers over half indicate ever having cheated on an examination, while about a third of first-year college students report cheating at least occasionally. Among teenagers the trend shows less cheating now than previously, but at least between 1987 and 1988 more cheating was reported by the college students (who also reported an increase in copying homework).

Conformity

Conformity is not a highly rated characteristic like obedience and honesty. Such conformist traits as acting like a boy/girl and neatness are ranked at the very bottom among desirable traits for children (with less than 1% saying either is most desirable) and even good manners are only rated as most desirable by 2-3%. On the other hand, few high school seniors believe that "not wanting to conform" will prevent them from getting the kind of job they want.

Individual Expression

Individual expression is close to the opposite of conformity. By it we mean the idea that each person should follow his or her own wishes without worrying about social conventions. It typically conveys the notion of being "wild and free." At least among high school seniors support for individual expression has been growing since the 1970s. In 1975 41% believed that people "should do their own thing even if people think it strange" and in 1992 53% endorsed this idea. Similarly, in 1976 30% agreed or mostly agreed that "I get a real kick out of doing things that are a little dangerous" and in 1992 this was 42%. Also, in 1976 38% said they liked to "test" themselves by "doing something a little risky" and in 1992 50% agreed.

Work Values and Relations

Most workers are generally satisfied with their jobs and show a high degree of organizational commitment, company loyalty, and even pride in and personal identification with their employer. Nearly half are very satisfied with their jobs and over 80% are at least moderately satisfied. The proportion has slightly shifted from the very satisfied to the moderately satisfied category in recent years. In terms of relations to employers 82% disagreed with the idea that they felt "little loyalty" their employer and 76% said that they found their own values and those of their employer "very similar." Likewise, most employees report good relations

between management and employees (63%) and even more said that there were good relations between co-workers (82%). However, high school seniors express somewhat less personal commitment to work in 1992 (62%) than in 1976 (70%).

Job satisfaction and worker identification with an employer generally rises from a low point among workers in their 20s to a high among older workers. This pattern has been observed for some decades and it is generally regarded as a life cycle rather than a cohort effect. Young workers are usually in entry-level, low-paying jobs and are often shopping around for a career and employer they find compatible. Workers 40-64 are generally at or near their top positions and earnings and have usually found a suitable occupation and employer. As a result, the older workers are more content and committed. If the age pattern actually represented a cohort shift, it would mean that worker satisfaction and loyalty might decline in the future.

Privacy

Personal privacy became an increasing concern of people between 1978 and 1982 (rising from 31% very concerned to 45%), but since 1982 there has been little further increase (46% in 1990). Nor are there any age differences that indicate that incoming generations are more concerned than older generations. In addition a majority feels that laws to protect privacy need to be strengthened and that privacy is a basic right like life and liberty. However, only 19% say their own privacy has been improperly invaded.

Counterespionage Measures

Wiretapping

Despite the increased concern over privacy, there has not been a decrease in support for intrusive measures such as wiretapping, lie detectors, and drug testing which might be used to detect or deter espionage. When asked about wiretapping in general without any qualification about who is using it or why, only about a quarter of Americans approve. Approval however slowly grew from the 1970s to the present. The lack of significant age differences suggests that generational shifts are not driving this trend forward, however. Approval of wiretapping is notably higher when 1) there is court approval and 2) when the target is a known criminal, a spy, or a terrorist. For example, while only 22% approve of wiretapping a suspect without a criminal record, 46% approve if the suspect has a long criminal record.

While there are no age differences on general approval of wiretapping, younger adults are somewhat less supportive than the older generations of tapping the phone of a suspected criminal.

American support for wiretapping appears to be unremarkable when compared to other countries. When asked whether the police should be allowed without a court order to tap the phone of a

suspect with a long criminal record, an average of 23% in eight countries said this should definitely be permitted. In the United States 20% took this position.

Lie Detectors

Similarly for lie detectors, people tend to object to the wholesale use of these devices, but approve of their use to help solve a theft or in security matters. For example, in 1986, wiretapping was approved by 26% for all current employees of a company, 46% for all government employees, 75% for employees suspected of stealing, and 81% for the "periodic testing of government employees who have access to classified information." The public is also more inclined to support the use of lie detectors than are most government officials and non-governmental elites.

Drug Testing

Drug and alcohol testing is becoming increasingly common for both new hires, for employees involved in accidents and other problems, and in some occupations on a periodic and/or random basis (Nock, 1993). There is widespread support for drug testing of both potential and current employees, both in and outside the government. When it comes to "federal employees involved in national security areas," 93% of the public said they should be "required to take tests for illegal drug use on a regular basis." Only support for the testing of airline pilots at 94% was higher. At least among first-year college students support for drug screening has grown in recent years.

Employee Screening

People are willing to subject potential employees to a number of pre-employment tests and checks. There is little support (only 12% in 1986) for checks on an applicant's "lifestyle or political associations" and only about a third think that lie detector testing should routinely be used, but a majority approve of written "honesty" tests, and 80% or more support checks on one's criminal record and drug testing. While none of the questions specifically asked about employment screening for jobs involving classified materials, it is likely that approval for screening and testing such applicants would be even higher.

Personal Information and Credit Checks

There is growing concern about credit checks and the disclosure of personal information. In 1990 71% agreed that "Consumers have lost all control over how personal information about them is circulated and used by companies" and only 46% felt that "My privacy rights as a consumer in credit reporting are adequately protected today by law and business practices." In 1978

14% reported that they had decided not to apply for a job, credit, or insurance because they did not want to provide certain information. By 1990 30% reported not applying for this reason. However, people still acknowledge that there are many legitimate reasons for credit checks. In 1990 94% approve of a check when a credit card is applied for and 96% when people want a loan. There is no information unfortunately on credit checks related to security matters.

Other Measures

Other measures that the public favors to reduce spying are investigating why the FBI and intelligence agencies "have been so slow to find and crack down on spies" (favored by 86%), reducing the number of classified documents so fewer people will handle secret material (80%), and "Firing managers in government operations who turn out to have spies working for them" (63%).

Public Access to Information

In a democratic society there is a continual tension between the public's right to know and the government's and military's need to maintain secrecy. The public clearly sees that its own desire for the facts must be balanced against legitimate needs of the government to classify and withhold information.

Freedom of Information Act

Important governmental and military information is available from various published governmental reports, academic research papers, and other public documents. In addition, unpublished and potentially sensitive information may be obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. In the early 1980s, the public opposed proposals to curtail access via the FOIA, even to protect intelligence information. By 1990 however, public support for disclosure appears to have waned. 58% agreed that "federal freedom of information laws have gone too far in letting individuals and businesses get government documents."

Media Publication

One of the most serious, potential conflicts in our democracy is between the press and government over the publication of classified material. In deciding whether the press should be able to publish classified, government documents or whether the government should be able to maintain its secrets, the public considers whether national security is involved. Large majorities favor the publication of confidential papers that "reveal incompetence or dishonesty by public official (73%)" or are about "economic plans" (61%). Conversely, majorities oppose the publication of "defense plans" (83%). When it comes to "top secret materials" that do not "endanger national security," the public

splits down the middle, 42% favoring publication, 47% opposed, and 11% undecided. Unfortunately, little of the opinion data on freedom of the press is up-to-date.

Other

During the Gulf War 55% agreed that "the details of many military events in the war with Iraq" should remain secret and only 38% thought the public should "be informed about them as soon as possible after they happened."

Punishments

A key indicator of a society's resolve on a matter is its willingness to punish transgressors. Spying and treason are clearly seen as very serious offenses by the American public. While support for capital punishment is highest for murder, there is about as much support for executing spies and traitors as for rapists and hijackers and more support than for executing drug dealers. Support for the death penalty appears to have risen from the 1970s to the mid-1980s, but then declined slightly. As of 1988 42% support the death penalty for "Spying for a foreign nation during peacetime." This decline came about in part because the younger generation is less supportive of the death penalty for treason than older generations are.

We also know from a large-scale study of the severity of crime conducted in 1977 what types of crimes people consider serious (Wolfgang, et al., 1985). While espionage was not one of the crimes covered, the public judges that crimes of disloyalty and lying are quite serious. For example, giving bank floor plans to a bank robber, lying under oath during a trial, a doctor filing a false Medicare claim, and falsifying documents requested by a court are all considered more serious than stealing and selling a car.

What about the punishment of actual spies in actual cases? The only information available concerns the conviction in 1987 of Jonathan Pollard for spying for Israel. On one hand, this case illustrates that people are concerned about what country is behind the espionage and consequently how much threat there is to the United States. When people were asked whether they were more bothered "to learn that Israel spied against the United States or to learn that once again Russia was caught spying against the United States" 46% selected Russia, 26% Israel, 15% both, and 13% unsure. However, the lower concern over Israeli spying did not materially improve the public's attitude toward Pollard. When asked if Pollard's spying made them feel angry, embarrassed, or sympathetic, 48% said angry, 12% embarrassed, 7% sympathetic, 7% something else, and 27% uncertain. Asked to evaluate Pollard's sentence to life in prison, 9% thought it too lenient, 57% correct, 16% too harsh, and 17% undecided. Thus, of those who had an opinion on the matter, 82% felt that life imprisonment (or more) was an appropriate punishment.

Goals and Priorities

While dozens of survey questions each year ask about national goals and what priorities the president and Congress should set, many deal exclusively with domestic concerns and others only touch upon foreign affairs and national security matters in a general way. Over the last several years foreign concerns have generally ranked below domestic and especially economic problems. However, foreign policy problems connected to economic competition are consistently given top rankings. Stopping nuclear proliferation is also ranked at the very top when it is specified that the recipients are "aggressive or desperate groups in unstable regions of the world," but mere references to the spread of nuclear weapons lead to a somewhat lower ranking. Dealing with terrorists ranks near the middle on lists, but the recent bombings and plots in New York City may have increased public concern about this problem. In late 1990 the spread of Communism and keeping up with Soviet military power were also in the middle of the list, but their positioning has undoubtedly fallen further since then. Near the bottom of the lists are support for foreign aid and help to the states of the former Soviet Union.

Among these top goals and priorities are several that relate to maintaining security awareness. Protecting military and industrial secrets and material from economic competitors, nuclear aspirants, and terrorists would clearly be strongly favored by the public.

Summary

For intelligence security to succeed it must understand American public opinion. Certain attitudes and trends indicate that maintaining vigilance against espionage may become increasingly difficult, but other opinions and changes show support for counterespionage measures.

Of all the changes during the 1980s that are likely to continue into the 1990s, the one that is most likely to undermine counterespionage efforts is the perception of diminished threat from the Soviet Union and the resulting decline in support for military preparedness and defense and CIA spending. It is hard to keep up your guard if you do not perceive an immediate, serious threat. However, there are new or newly recognized problems such as economic competition, nuclear proliferation, terrorism, and uncertainty itself that the public recognizes as serious threats. While not as strong and focused a threat as Communism used to be, collectively they are creditable threats to the public and therefore motivations to maintain security.

The second development that may hinder counterespionage efforts is the growing disillusionment with the presidency and the government in general that has emerged over the last several years. Among both adults and students confidence in the political leadership is at historic lows and cynicism at record highs. However, this mistrust of government does not seem to amount to

widespread political or social alienation nor does there seem to be a weakening of patriotism. However, patriotism is not necessarily a top political concern to the public.

In the national security sphere of the government the picture is more mixed. Support for defense spending and military preparedness are weak and neither military service nor the resumption of a military draft are widely supported. In contrast, many favor disarmament and a strengthening of the United Nations. However, due to the success of the Gulf War the military is generally respected and confidence is currently high. Likewise, public appraisal of the CIA is mixed. While support for the CIA has been moderate rather than strong, there are no signs of long-term decline in support for the intelligence community. In 1990 48% had a favorable view of the CIA, 33% unfavorable, and 19% were unsure.

Our inspection of personal values also shows a mixed pattern. On one hand, obedience and honesty are highly rated values and there is no clear evidence that these moral values are eroding. Likewise, worker loyalty is strong and relations between management and employees and among co-workers are generally positive. On the other hand, expressive individualism has been increasing. This growth in self-centeredness might undermine conformist, security programs.

Similarly, more concern about personal privacy could inhibit the use of intrusive security measures. For now at least, this has not materialized. In particular, people are often supportive of such counterespionage measures as wiretapping, lie detectors, drug testing, employment screening, background checks, and other measures. While the public generally finds such intrusions objectionable, they generally accept them as justifiable when national security is involved.

This same distinction is important when considering intelligence leaks via the media (and the Freedom of Information Act). People support the public's right to know in general and freedom of the press in particular and do not want the government to be able to stifle whistleblowers or to block the publication of most governmental information. But again, people make a distinction when national security information is involved. In fact, the public appears to be more willing to prevent the publication of defense materials than are the courts.

When it comes to the act of espionage itself, people consider it a serious crime. There is substantial (but not majority) support for the death penalty and this support has remained strong over the last decade. In addition, the Pollard case in 1987 suggests that it is the act of disloyalty itself and not who one spies for or why that primarily determines attitudes towards punishment. Few Americans sympathized with Pollard and a solid majority backed the imposition of a life sentence.

The climate of opinion regarding security matters and related issues has been changing in various ways. Many changes such as the diminished Communist threat, the increase in privacy concerns, and the growth of expressive individualism will tend to make it harder to maintain security. But other factors such as public concerns

over emerging security threats, the importance of honesty, and a good deal of patriotism will assist counter-espionage efforts.

Conclusion

Given the changed nature of perceived threat in the post-Cold War world, counterespionage efforts need to adjust in several ways. First, rather than seeing threat in terms of Communism and/or the Soviet Union, one should emphasize that threat could come from changing and unexpected quarters. It may be from old rivals, new enemies, duplicitous allies, foreign terrorists, domestic radicals, or industrial spies. As Director of the CIA James Woolsey has noted the West "has slain a large dragon," but still lives "in a jungle filled with a bewildering variety of poisonous snakes." The very circumstance of uncertainty necessitates greater rather than lesser vigilance in security matters.

Second, one may need to deemphasize "threat" as the main rationale for maintaining security. Loyalty, obedience, and especially honesty should be given greater weight as reasons that secrets must be kept. In addition, professionalism and competence might be given more importance.

Third, security personnel must be aware that people are leery of threats to privacy, compromises of freedom of the press, and other challenges to civil liberties. Currently when balancing these concerns against military and foreign policy matters, most people are willing to give great weight to national security. But the public's attitudes result from a delicate balancing of these often competing interests and ignoring or abusing civil liberties could help to tip the scale against the use of intrusive measures to protect national security.

Moreover, American patriotism itself is largely a dedication to a form of government (democracy) and system of rights (liberty, freedom of speech and press, etc.) Measures that may preserve and protect the country, but which challenge what the country stands for (freedom of the individual, majority rule, etc.) are inherently unpopular and even unpatriotic. This tendency may be furthered by the recent surge in political cynicism and, as a result, support for governmental security measures may be weakened.

Finally, just as you need to be responsive to changes in the technology of spying; you need to monitor, understand, and adjust to changes in public opinion. The trends we have followed and tried to project into the future will eventually shift in unanticipated ways as unexpected events unfold. In addition, new issues will emerge that may impinge on security matters in ways that we do not now foresee. To understand societal trends you need good raw intelligence in the form of surveys asking the right questions and good intelligence analysis to interpret the survey data. Understanding the climate of opinion will allow you to tailor your programs to best meet the security challenges of the 1990s.

Studies

ABC/WP: ABC/Washington Post
AP: Associated Press
AP/MG: Associated Press/Media General
Black: Gordon S. Black Corporation
Cambridge: Cambridge Reports
Canada: Institute for Social Research, York University
CBS/NYT: CBS/New York Times
CF: College Freshmen, Cooperative Institutional Research Program,
University of California, Los Angeles
Gallup: Gallup Organization
Gallup-Teens: Gallup Organization, Teen Survey
Harris: Louis Harris and Associates
Hart/Breglio: Pater Hart and Breglio Research Companies
Hart/Teeter: Hart-Teeter Research Companies
KPA: Kane, Parsons, and Associates
LAT: Los Angeles Times
MFT: Monitoring the Future, Institute for Social Research,
University of Michigan
MK: Marttila and Kiley
ML: Mellman and Lazarus
MORI: Minnesota Opinion Research Institute
MOR: Market Opinion Research
MS: Market Strategies
NORC/GSS: General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center,
University of Chicago
ORC: Opinion Research Corporation
PAF: Public Agenda Foundation
PSRA: Princeton Survey Research Associates
Roper: Roper Organization
YANK: Various Yankelovich organizations

I. Trends in Attitudes

External Threat

Soviet Union/Communism

NORC/GSS: You will notice that the boxes on this card go from the highest position of "plus 5" for a country you like very much, to the lowest position of "minus 5" for a country you dislike very much. How far up or how far down the scale would you rate the following countries?

Russia

	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	
1974	3.0%	3.3	12.8	10.8	18.0	11.1	5.3	8.6	3.8	23.2	(1411)
1975	2.8%	2.7	13.1	11.0	17.3	11.3	5.6	9.0	4.9	22.2	(1386)
1977	2.2%	1.5	8.7	7.2	14.4	12.8	5.7	9.4	5.7	32.4	(1415)
1982	1.4%	1.2	4.7	4.7	10.7	10.4	6.1	9.5	6.1	45.3	(1445)
1983	0.7%	1.0	3.7	4.8	12.3	12.9	7.7	13.3	7.7	36.0	(1528)
1985	1.7%	1.2	3.6	4.6	12.1	12.1	8.0	11.8	7.0	38.1	(1450)
1986	1.4%	1.2	7.3	7.6	16.3	13.7	7.3	11.7	5.9	27.5	(1405)
1988	2.9%	2.4	9.4	10.9	21.4	11.0	5.6	9.5	4.2	22.9	(930)
1989	4.2%	4.4	11.7	12.9	22.0	10.8	6.7	6.7	3.3	17.2	(951)
1990	6.6%	4.6	15.7	24.5	22.0	10.8	4.0	4.2	2.3	12.6	(876)
1991	6.0%	5.3	17.0	15.0	23.6	9.1	5.0	5.0	3.8	10.3	(955)
1993	7.3%	4.2	15.7	13.9	29.5	8.5	4.8	4.2	2.5	9.4	(1014)

CBS/NYT: Do you believe the military threat from the Soviet Union is constantly growing and presents a real, immediate danger to the United States, or not?

	Yes, Danger	No, Danger	DK	
4/1983	57%	37	6	(1489)
9/1983	63%	30	7	(1587)
1/1985	52%	39	9	(1525)
2/1985	54%	42	5	(1533)
9/1985	53%	39	9	(1277)
10/1987	31%	67	2	(1002)
5/1989	26%	65	9	(1073)

Note: 10/87 done by Marttila and Kiley

Various: How much of a threat would you say the Soviet Union is to the United States these days -- a very serious threat, a serious threat, a minor threat, or not a threat at all?

	Very Serious	Serious	Minor	Not a Threat At All	DK	
3/1986	20%	47	25	6	2	(1148)
4/1986	13%	40	33	12	2	(1505)
5/1986	9%	37	40	12	2	(1506)
11/1987	15%	45	31	8	-	(1000)
1/1988	16%	41	32	8	-	(1000)
4/1988	17%	36	32	12	-	(1000)
5/1988	11%	37	39	12	2	(1500)
6/1988	18%	42	29	8	3	(1006)
12/1988	9%	35	44	10	2	(1000)
6/1989	9%	31	45	14	-	(1546)
2/1990	7%	26	49	16	-	(1000)
11/1991	5%	18	49	26	3	(1000)

ABC/WP=86-87,5/88,6/89;MOR=1/88,4/88,12/88;YANK=6/88;
MS=2/90,11/91

MS: How much of a threat would you say the emerging republics of the Soviet Union are to the United States these days -- a very serious threat, a serious threat, a minor threat, or not a threat at all?

11-12/1991

Very Serious	4%
Serious	16
Minor	43
Not a Threat	33
DK	4

(1000)

MS: Now that the Cold war has ended, how much of a threat would you say the emerging republics of the Soviet Union are to the United States these days -- a very serious threat, a serious threat, a minor threat, or not a threat at all?

1-4/1993

Very Serious	7%
Serious	28
Minor	46
Not a Threat	17
DK	2

(1020)

LAT: In your opinion, which of the following countries represents the greatest threat to the United States over the next ten years?

12/89

Soviet Union	24%
Japan	16
China	14
Iran	8
Libya	4
Germany	2
Lebanon	2
South Africa	1
Other	11
DK	18

(2095)

MK: Which of the following countries do you think will pose the greatest threat to the vital interests of the U.S., both economic and political, in the next decade-- the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the European Community, or some other country?

11/1991

Japan	25%
China	20
Soviet Union	17
European Community	13
Mideast	7
Iran	1
Iraq	1
United States	1
Other	5
Not Sure	10

(1001)

MOR/YANK: I'm going to read a list of several foreign policy issues and developments. Thinking about the next five years or so, please tell me whether you feel each issue I mention poses an extremely serious, very serious, somewhat serious, or not very serious threat to our country's national security interests. Remember, I'm not asking about how important the issue is, but how serious a threat it is to our national security. (Registered voters)

	% Extremely Serious	
	9/1988	9-10/1988*
International drug trafficking	54%	53%
The spread of chemical and biological weapons to Third World countries	--	47
US companies or allies selling electronic equipment and computers to the Soviet Union that could be used for military purposes	--	40
Domestic problems like unemployment, homelessness, and crime	39	--
The spread of nuclear weapons to Third World countries	38	52
Terrorist activities around the world	33	43
Foreign ownership of US companies	--	32
America's trade imbalance	--	32
The expense of defending so many nations	--	31
US dependence on oil imports from foreign countries	--	26
The debt crisis of Third World countries	--	25
The Arab-Israel conflict	--	24
Economic competition from Japan	23	--
The undermining of our constitutional government	22	--
Soviet aggression around the world	21	32
The gradual heating of the earth's atmosphere known as the 'Greenhouse Effect'	21	--
Population growth in Third World countries	--	20
Acid rain	18	--
The spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Third World countries	17	--
A possible shortage of oil that would drive up gas and energy prices	15	--
The growing economic strength of the ECC, the European Economic Community	--	11
	(1005)	(1008)
*YANK		

Terrorists

Harris: Have you ever canceled a trip because of terrorist activity, or a concern about airport security?

1/1989

Yes	7.4%
No	92.4
Not sure	0.1

(686)

YANK: Have you personally canceled or postponed an airplane trip that you otherwise would have taken because you were worried about terrorism?

2/1991

5/1992

Yes	8%	7%
No	91	92
Not sure	1	1

(1000)

(1250)

Hart/Teeter: Have you changed any vacation or travel plans because of the war with Iraq and concern about terrorist attacks?

2/1991

Yes	10%
No	89
Not sure	1

(1505)

YANK: Do you personally worry about terrorism when you are in public places?

2/1991

5/1992

Yes	23%	23%
No	76	76
Not sure	1	1

(1000)

(1250)

Gallup: Now that war has broken out with Iraq, do you personally feel any sense of danger from terrorist acts where you live and work, or not?

	1/1991	2/1991	3/1993 ^a
Feel danger	27%	19%	12%
Do not feel danger	73	80	87
DK	-	1	1
	(1019)	(1009)	(1007)

^aOmits "Now that war has broken out with Iraq."

Harris: How worried are you that terrorist attacks instigated by Saddam Hussein might take place near where you live or work -- very worried, quite worried, not very worried, or not worried at all?

	2/1991	3/1991
Very worried	9.2%	9.0%
Quite worried	13.6	11.7
Not very worried	40.6	36.6
Not worried at all	36.1	42.1
Not sure	0.5	0.6
	(1255)	(1253)

Gallup: Which of the following, if any, apply to you because of concern about terrorism since the military attack on Iraq?

Undergoing increased security procedures in your workplace

	1/1991
Yes	13%
No	80
DK	7
	(752)

Gallup: As a result of yesterday's [June 26, 1992] military strike by the U.S. (against Iraq intelligence in Baghdad), do you think there are likely to be more terrorist acts against the U.S. in the months ahead, fewer terrorist acts against the U.S., or will it not make much difference either way?

6/1993

More	54%
No difference	26
Less	13
No opinion	7

(602)

CBS/NYT: Would you say you personally are very concerned about a terrorist attack in the United States, or not?

	1/1991	1/1991	1/1991	1/1991
Yes	66%	62%	61%	52%
No	31	36	38	46
DK	3	2	1	2
	(544)	(683)	(908)	(1173)

ABC/WP: What do you think is a greater threat to the security of the United States these days: the military power of the Soviet Union or the terrorism supported by such countries as Libya, Iraq, and Iran?

5/1990

Soviet Union	15%
Terrorism	82
Both equally	2
DK	1

(1526)

Gallup: How do you rate the Bush Administration's handling of the following problems? Would you say the Administration's handling of terrorism has been excellent, good, fair, or poor?

10-11/1990

Excellent	4%
Good	22
Fair	33
Poor	32
DK	9

(1662)

Black: Using the same A through F grading scale where A is excellent and F is very poor, how would you grade President Bush on dealing with terrorism?

	1/1990	3/1991
A	23%	44%
B	32	32
C	27	14
D	10	2
F	4	3
DK	5	5
	(810)	(802)

Nuclear Proliferation

PSRA: As I read from a list, tell me which one of the following eight items is the most important thing for the next president to do as soon as he takes office?

10/1992

(registered voters)

Reduce the federal budget deficit	40%
Reduce unemployment	31
Control health care costs	14
Reform the educational system	6
Protect the environment	3
Making sure the spread of nuclear weapons is controlled	1
Help the Russians convert to a market economy	1
Stop the war in Yugoslavia	1
Other/DK	3

(1153)

Gallup: How concerned are you that if the former Soviet Union does not receive enough help from the U.S. and its allies that each of the following will happen. Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not at all concerned that Soviet

Nuclear weapons and technology will spread to other countries.

4/1992

Very	56%
Somewhat	23
Not too	13
Not at all	5
No opinion	3

(1002)

Gallup: I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all.

Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons

10/1990

Very important	59%
Somewhat important	32
Not at all important	5
DK	4

(1662)

Economic Competition

AP: U.S. companies are no longer the leading producers of many goods. Do you think that's more because U.S. companies have failed to compete against foreign businesses, or more because of unfair foreign competition?

3/1991

Companies have failed	48%
Unfair foreign competition	36
Both	5
Neither	5
DK	7

(1006)

AP: When foreign competition is hurting a U.S. industry, which is the best approach for the U.S. government, should the government act to strengthen U.S. businesses, should the government fight back against the foreign competition, or should the government not get involved?

3/1991

Strengthen businesses	45%
Fight back	28
Strengthen and Fight Back	3
Not get involved	20
DK	4

(1006)

Hart-Teeter: Which do you think is the greater threat to the United States' future security--the threat of communism expansion or foreign economic competition?

3/1990

Communist expansion	6%
Foreign economic competition	85
Both	3
Neither	3
Not sure	3

(1003)

Hart-Teeter: Do you think the most important foreign policy problems for the United States over the next few years will be dealing with the threat of war or economic competition?

3/1990

War	8%
Economic Competition	87
Both	3
Not sure	2

(1003)

National Security

Defense Spending

NORC/GSS: We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount.

The Military, Armaments, and Defense

	Too Little	About Right	Too Much	
1973	11.9%	47.8	40.3	(1407)
1974	18.1%	48.6	33.3	(1380)
1975	17.8%	49.0	33.2	(1387)
1976	25.8%	45.0	29.2	(1395)
1977	25.7%	49.4	24.9	(1404)
1978	29.2%	47.1	23.6	(1413)
1980	60.2%	27.5	12.3	(1370)
1982	30.9%	37.6	31.6	(1426)
1983	25.6%	40.0	34.4	(1506)
1984	17.9%	42.6	39.4	(469)
1985	14.8%	43.6	41.6	(722)
1986	17.1%	40.4	42.5	(691)
1987	15.3%	42.3	42.3	(463)
1988	16.8%	42.4	40.8	(672)
1989	15.4%	43.1	41.5	(721)
1990	10.9%	45.0	44.2	(634)
1991	14.5%	57.6	28.0	(733)
1993	10.7%	46.1	43.1	(765)

CF: Mark one in each row.

Federal military spending should be increased.

Agree Strongly or Somewhat

1982	38.8%
1983	36.9%
1984	32.5%
1985	26.8%
1986	26.9%
1987	26.2%
1988	26.3%
1989	24.5%
1990	25.1%
1991	26.0%
1992	20.8%

MFT: Do you think the U.S. spends too much or too little on the armed services?

	Far Too Little	Too Little	About Right	Too Much	Far Too Much	
1975	3.1%	15.5	47.0	25.2	9.3	(2835)
1976	4.7%	22.5	46.2	20.3	6.3	(2917)
1977	6.3%	22.0	46.5	19.7	5.5	(3050)
1978	5.9%	24.6	45.6	19.3	4.6	(3635)
1979	4.6%	21.9	61.5	10.3	1.8	(3193)
1980	12.5%	35.2	35.6	12.7	4.0	(3187)
1981	12.2%	38.0	32.1	14.0	3.7	(3550)
1982	6.9%	24.6	33.7	24.0	10.8	(3615)
1983	6.1%	21.6	38.5	24.4	9.4	(3293)
1984	4.9%	17.6	39.4	27.0	11.1	(3209)
1985	3.1%	15.1	36.6	30.6	14.6	(3212)
1986	3.2%	13.3	43.0	29.0	11.6	(3095)
1987	2.7%	13.5	39.2	31.2	13.4	(3285)
1988	3.1%	13.0	38.9	31.5	13.5	(3278)
1989	3.0%	12.5	38.7	31.6	14.2	(2779)
1990	2.0%	9.6	36.1	33.8	18.5	(2542)
1991	3.1%	8.9	47.9	29.4	10.7	(2537)
1992	1.7%	8.5	38.1	35.4	16.4	(2645)

Disarmament and Military Power

ABC/WP: Do you agree or disagree that it would be a good thing for the United States and the Soviet Union to make further cuts right now in nuclear arms?

If Yes:

Should those cuts in nuclear arms be minor cuts, major cuts, or almost total cuts?

1990

Minor Cuts	24%
Major Cuts	37
Almost Total Cuts	17
No further Cuts	20
DK	1

(1526)

MS: This idea of cutting long range nuclear forces by about half is embodied in the Strategic Arms Reduction or START Treaty now scheduled for signing by the United States and the Soviet Union at the June (1990) summit meeting. Some people have proposed further rounds of cuts by all countries with nuclear weapons which would eventually eliminate nuclear weapons. Do you approve or disapprove of a treaty that would lead to the elimination of all nuclear weapons?

If Approve/Disapprove?

Would that be strongly approve/disapprove or just somewhat approve/disapprove?

1990

Strongly Approve	60%
Somewhat Approve	14
Somewhat Disapprove	10
Strongly Disapprove	12
Don't Know	4

(1000)

CF: Mark one in each row.

The federal government is not doing enough to promote disarmament.

Agree Strongly or
Somewhat

1984	65.6%
1985	66.0%
1986	66.0%
1987	70.9%
1988	66.7%
1989	68.1%

CF: Mark one in each row.

Nuclear disarmament is attainable.

1985	51.7%
1986	52.7%
1987	56.4%
1988	59.5%
1990	60.9%
1991	63.7%
1992	67.8%

MTF: The U.S. should begin a gradual program of disarming whether other countries do or not.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	30.5%	21.2	31.9	11.1	5.2	(2623)
1976	43.5%	18.1	20.3	11.4	6.0	(2944)
1977	42.6%	20.6	20.6	10.4	5.9	(3124)
1978	44.5%	18.4	19.8	11.8	5.5	(3692)
1979	45.5%	18.8	20.7	10.0	5.1	(3278)
1980	47.0%	17.0	20.3	9.5	6.2	(3234)
1981	47.3%	17.8	19.1	9.9	5.9	(3564)
1982	42.6%	17.5	19.5	12.4	8.0	(3611)
1983	40.3%	17.7	20.4	12.5	8.4	(3387)
1984	40.1%	17.7	19.5	14.3	8.4	(3260)
1985	37.5%	19.2	18.9	14.6	9.8	(3265)
1986	39.8%	18.0	18.6	15.1	8.5	(3104)
1987	35.6%	18.4	19.8	16.5	9.7	(3297)
1988	35.6%	20.7	19.2	15.6	9.0	(3297)
1989	35.6%	19.1	19.6	16.8	9.0	(2844)
1990	30.3%	20.7	20.1	19.2	9.6	(2577)
1991	38.5%	19.5	22.0	13.6	6.4	(2533)
1992	27.4%	20.7	22.9	18.9	10.1	(2655)

MFT: The U.S. ought to have much more military power than any other nation in the world.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	12.1%	18.3	34.7	18.6	16.4	(2607)
1976	14.2%	17.7	26.7	20.4	21.1	(2968)
1977	14.3%	18.8	25.2	19.8	21.9	(3132)
1978	14.7%	16.1	25.7	21.1	22.4	(3711)
1979	13.5%	17.8	24.5	20.5	23.7	(3288)
1980	12.2%	14.9	24.9	22.5	25.5	(3273)
1981	11.8%	15.4	22.4	21.7	28.7	(3584)
1982	15.0%	16.4	24.7	20.0	23.9	(3818)
1983	15.2%	18.9	25.5	19.1	21.3	(3390)
1984	17.0%	19.4	25.0	18.5	20.1	(3267)
1985	19.5%	18.4	25.8	18.1	18.2	(3274)
1986	17.2%	18.7	25.9	18.6	19.6	(3114)
1987	17.6%	19.8	28.4	16.2	17.9	(2845)
1988	17.7%	20.8	27.4	16.9	17.2	(3296)
1989	17.6%	19.8	28.4	16.2	17.9	(2845)
1990	18.8%	21.4	26.8	16.3	16.6	(2575)
1991	13.0%	16.8	29.4	19.5	21.3	(2537)
1992	16.5%	16.7	28.9	19.2	18.7	(2664)

Military Service/Draft

NORC/GSS: We all know that American citizens have certain rights. For example, they have the right to free public education and to police protection, the right to attend religious services of their choice, and the right to elect public officials.

I'd like to ask now about certain obligations that some people feel American citizens owe their country. I just want to know your opinion on these--whether you feel it is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

How about, for young men, serving in the military during peacetime? For young men, serving in the military when the country is at war?

1984

	Peace	War
Very Important	33.1%	84.0%
Somewhat Important	49.0	13.6
No Obligation	17.9	2.4
	(1430)	(1436)

Resumption of Military Draft

	For	Against	Don't Know	
4/1987	43%	51	6	(4244)
7/1988	37%	55	7	(1500)
8/1990	40%	56	4	(1007)
11/1990	39%	56	5	(758)
12/1990	34%	54	7	(1004)
2/1991	45%	51	5	(1008)

4/1987 (Gallup): The following is a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose...resuming the military draft.

7/1988 (ABC/WP): I am going to read a few statements. After each, please tell me if you agree with that statement or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about that statement.

The military draft should be reinstituted.

8/1990 (Gallup): Do you favor or oppose reinstating the military draft to provide soldiers for the current Mideast situation?

11/1990 (CBS/NYT): Do you favor or oppose reinstating the military draft to provide soldiers for the current Mideast situation?

2/1991 (WP): Because of the situation in the Persian Gulf, do you favor or oppose resumption of the military draft in the United States?

MFT: If you felt it was necessary for the U.S. to fight in some future war, how likely is it that you would volunteer for military service in that war?

- 1=I'm sure that I would volunteer
- 2=I would very likely volunteer.
- 3=I would probably volunteer.
- 4=I would probably not volunteer.
- 5=I would very likely not volunteer.
- 6=I would definitely not volunteer.
- 7=In my opinion, there is no such thing as a 'necessary' war.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1976	9.5%	6.6	14.0	22.2	8.8	14.8	24.2	(2558)
1977	8.4%	6.6	15.2	21.6	9.2	16.3	22.7	(2620)
1978	7.9%	5.5	15.6	22.0	9.0	16.2	23.9	(3065)
1979	9.2%	5.2	15.6	18.8	8.4	18.7	24.0	(2763)
1980	10.3%	7.1	17.3	18.9	9.2	18.3	18.9	(2758)
1981	12.3%	7.8	18.2	18.0	8.3	15.2	20.2	(3112)
1982	12.3%	6.9	18.5	17.9	7.1	14.0	23.4	(3018)
1983	14.5%	7.4	18.6	17.3	6.7	13.7	21.9	(2710)
1984	14.9%	7.3	17.2	17.5	6.6	14.6	21.8	(2705)
1985	14.2%	7.5	16.4	17.1	7.9	15.0	21.9	(2641)
1986	13.9%	6.1	16.6	19.5	8.4	16.6	18.9	(2655)
1987	11.7%	6.6	17.6	16.4	7.9	16.8	23.1	(2768)
1991	12.0%	5.6	13.7	19.3	11.0	20.2	18.2	(2169)
1992	11.3%	4.2	13.7	16.2	10.8	22.3	21.5	(2272)

MFT: Do you favor or oppose a military draft at the present time?

	Strongly Oppose	Mostly Oppose	No Opinion, Mixed	Mostly Favor	Strongly Favor	
1981	29.1%	23.1	30.5	12.1	5.2	(3107)
1982	26.1%	18.6	36.6	12.9	5.8	(3162)
1983	21.4%	19.2	40.8	12.4	6.2	(2924)
1984	22.4%	19.6	38.8	12.7	6.4	(2835)
1985	23.5%	18.3	40.1	12.5	5.6	(2829)
1986	23.8%	18.8	40.2	11.5	5.6	(2760)
1987	25.5%	17.1	41.3	10.8	5.2	(2849)
1988	27.2%	17.3	41.7	9.2	4.6	(2856)
1989	27.9%	15.6	42.7	8.4	5.3	(2474)
1990	27.8%	15.8	42.4	9.1	4.9	(2256)
1991	30.6%	19.6	35.6	9.6	4.6	(2218)
1992	31.7%	16.0	38.2	9.6	4.4	(2301)

Gallup-Teens: Would you favor or oppose requiring all young men (women) to give one year of service to the nation either in the military services or in non-military work here or abroad, such as in hospitals or with elderly people?

% Favor

	Young Men	Young Women
1977	47%	38%
1984	62%	51%
1986	62%	56%
1989	49%	44%
1992	52%	47%

Government and the Military

NORC/GSS: I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

Executive Branch of the Federal Government

	Great Deal	Only Some	Hardly Any	
1973	29.9%	51.4	18.7	(1469)
1974	13.9%	43.4	42.6	(1450)
1975	13.7%	56.1	30.3	(1450)
1976	13.9%	60.3	25.8	(1449)
1977	28.8%	56.2	15.0	(1477)
1978	12.9%	61.4	25.7	(1479)
1980	12.5%	52.0	35.5	(1416)
1982	19.7%	55.2	25.1	(1465)
1983	13.3%	56.2	30.5	(1545)
1984	19.0%	51.7	29.4	(954)
1986	21.2%	54.6	24.2	(1427)
1987	19.1%	53.5	27.4	(1416)
1988	17.1%	55.2	27.2	(960)
1989	20.5%	56.6	22.9	(984)
1990	24.2%	51.9	23.9	(869)
1991	26.6%	52.0	21.4	(990)
1993	12.2%	54.5	33.3	(1020)

Military

1973	32.6%	50.9	16.5	(1457)
1974	40.7%	45.6	13.8	(1444)
1975	37.0%	48.0	15.0	(1418)
1976	41.7%	44.0	14.2	(1399)
1977	37.5%	51.9	10.6	(1478)
1978	30.6%	56.0	13.3	(1472)
1980	28.8%	54.3	16.9	(1406)
1982	31.4%	53.4	15.3	(1467)
1983	30.2%	56.4	13.4	(1548)
1984	37.1%	49.8	13.2	(950)
1986	32.3%	53.7	14.0	(1429)
1987	35.6%	51.7	12.7	(1415)
1988	35.1%	51.0	13.9	(963)
1989	33.8%	52.1	14.0	(990)
1990	33.6%	52.6	13.9	(873)
1991	60.7%	33.2	6.0	(996)
1993	42.6%	46.1	11.2	(1034)

NORC/GSS: Now I'm going to ready you several more statements.

Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the average man.

% agree

1973	59.5 (1467)
1974	65.7 (1444)
1976	66.7 (1463)
1977	64.9 (1472)
1980	73.0 (1421)
1982	68.3 (1440)
1984	69.7 (1431)
1985	65.0 (1482)
1987	69.7 (1424)
1988	68.1 (939)
1989	66.3 (994)
1990	69.0 (888)
1991	69.8 (951)
1993	75.7 (1045)

Yankelovich: How much confidence do you have in our system of government--a great deal of confidence, some, only a little, or none at all?

	Great Deal	Some	Only a Little	None	
10/1990	28%	41	23	8	(1000)
6/1993	23%	42	26	7	(901)

MFT: The next question asks you how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with several aspects of your life.

The way our national government is operating.

	Completely Dissatisfied			Neutral		Completely Satisfied			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1976	1.4%	3.1	8.6	33.6	16.6	14.3	22.5		(3022)
1977	2.7%	4.5	12.7	39.2	14.0	10.5	16.5		(3178)
1978	2.0%	2.8	9.6	39.1	14.9	11.9	19.7		(3755)
1979	1.9%	2.4	7.7	32.5	16.1	14.3	25.1		(3347)
1980	1.5%	1.7	6.8	26.0	17.5	16.2	30.3		(3303)
1981	1.9%	4.4	11.2	33.6	15.9	12.0	21.0		(3624)
1982	2.6%	3.4	9.6	30.8	14.5	13.3	25.9		(3660)
1983	2.4%	3.8	11.0	36.8	13.4	11.4	21.1		(3422)
1984	3.6%	6.1	13.2	40.2	12.1	8.4	16.4		(3287)
1985	3.7%	7.8	13.1	40.0	11.6	8.0	15.8		(3291)
1986	5.5%	9.5	15.6	38.4	11.0	7.3	12.7		(3149)
1987	2.5%	5.6	12.7	39.9	13.4	9.5	16.3		(3342)
1988	3.5%	5.4	12.6	39.0	15.1	9.2	15.2		(3375)
1989	3.0%	5.6	11.7	40.2	16.1	8.7	14.7		(2852)
1990	2.8%	6.6	14.7	36.9	15.4	8.8	14.8		(2622)
1991	5.3%	8.9	15.4	34.1	13.3	10.0	13.0		(2571)
1992	24.3%	15.2	18.5	28.4	8.7	2.9	2.0		(2687)

MFT: Now we'd like you to make some ratings of how honest and moral people are who run the following organizations. To what extent are there problems of dishonesty and immorality in the leadership of _____?

Large Corporations

	Not At All	Slight	Moderate	Consider- able	Great	No Opinion	
1975	2.4%	9.2	28.1	32.8	13.1	14.5	(2879)
1976	3.5%	13.5	31.1	28.1	9.2	14.7	(2718)
1977	4.1%	13.1	29.9	28.4	9.3	15.2	(2835)
1978	3.1%	14.6	30.6	26.5	9.1	16.0	(3373)
1979	2.8%	13.6	31.7	27.9	9.7	14.3	(2995)
1980	3.0%	15.0	31.4	27.2	8.9	14.5	(3015)
1981	3.8%	14.5	33.0	26.2	9.0	13.5	(3311)
1982	3.2%	17.7	35.0	23.0	7.0	14.2	(3330)
1983	2.4%	15.6	35.1	24.1	7.0	15.8	(3111)
1984	3.5%	17.1	37.2	20.6	4.9	16.7	(3001)
1985	3.7%	17.2	36.2	22.1	5.3	15.6	(3019)
1986	3.5%	17.8	35.7	21.1	4.6	17.3	(2891)
1987	2.5%	15.1	36.6	21.2	6.7	17.9	(3027)
1988	3.2%	14.7	36.8	22.8	6.4	16.1	(3025)
1989	3.3%	17.3	33.6	22.3	6.5	17.0	(2661)

The President and his Administration

1975	6.0%	14.0	19.4	24.3	25.4	10.8	(2867)
1976	3.5%	17.2	28.4	24.9	15.0	11.0	(2698)
1977	4.8%	21.5	27.7	22.0	10.4	13.5	(2794)
1978	3.7%	19.5	29.7	22.3	11.6	13.2	(3337)
1979	4.2%	18.0	29.5	23.5	13.1	11.6	(2976)
1980	3.8%	21.4	31.1	21.0	11.5	11.2	(2971)
1981	5.1%	24.7	30.0	18.2	9.1	12.8	(3285)
1982	4.5%	22.8	30.5	20.1	10.4	11.7	(3297)
1983	4.5%	20.9	29.3	20.8	10.2	14.2	(3080)
1984	5.8%	23.7	30.6	19.3	7.9	12.7	(2965)
1985	5.3%	23.2	29.3	19.1	8.7	14.4	(2996)
1986	7.0%	23.3	29.2	18.7	6.7	15.0	(2872)
1987	4.8%	19.7	29.9	21.1	10.2	14.2	(2992)
1988	4.7%	19.2	32.0	21.0	10.1	13.0	(3008)
1989	4.5%	20.8	27.2	23.0	9.6	14.9	(2643)

The U.S. Military

1975	7.6%	24.4	24.7	17.3	8.6	17.3	(2865)
1976	6.7%	29.1	24.5	13.4	6.8	19.4	(2687)
1977	6.9%	25.9	27.0	13.2	7.5	19.5	(2780)
1978	8.5%	26.5	25.9	13.5	6.8	18.8	(3323)
1979	7.5%	26.2	26.6	14.6	7.2	17.9	(2957)
1980	8.5%	25.5	26.1	14.5	7.4	18.0	(2957)
1981	8.2%	27.2	25.9	13.9	6.9	17.9	(3264)
1982	7.1%	27.7	25.8	14.8	8.5	16.1	(3280)
1983	7.8%	26.6	25.4	13.3	7.4	19.6	(3075)
1984	7.5%	24.4	25.3	16.2	8.4	18.2	(2955)
1985	7.4%	24.8	26.2	15.8	8.3	17.5	(2988)
1986	8.6%	24.6	25.8	15.2	8.6	17.1	(2865)
1987	7.5%	24.6	26.0	15.5	9.0	17.3	(2992)
1988	7.0%	24.5	26.2	16.2	8.4	17.7	(2994)
1989	7.0%	21.4	26.4	16.2	9.4	19.7	(2636)

Various: How much of time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

	Just About Always	Most of the Time	Only Some of the Time	Never	DK	
1/1986	5%	37	54	1	3	(1581)
11/1986	7%	42	46	3	2	(687)
1/1987	7%	37	52	2	3	(1590)
2/1987	6%	35	54	2	2	(1174)
6/1987	5%	38	51	3	3	(1018)
10/1987	5%	35	55	2	3	(1326)
11/1988	4%	40	52	2	2	(1627)
1/1989	6%	38	53	1	2	(1533)
10/1989	3%	33	60	2	2	(1000)
4/1990	6%	32	53	4	5	(1462)
10/1990	3%	22	70	2	3	(1445)
3/1991	7%	40	50	2	1	(1252)
6/1992	2%	21	71	4	2	(1002)
10/1992	2%	20	72	4	2	(1002)
1/1993	2%	22	73	3	-	(1179)
3/1993	3%	20	75	2	-	(1003)
3/1993	2%	19	71	5	3	(1000)

CBS/NYT: 1/86,11/86,1/87,2/87,11/88,1/89,4/90,10/90,3/91,10/92,1/93

Yankelovich: 10/89

Roper: 6/87

Gallup: 3/93

MS: 3/93

MFT: How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?

	Almost Always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Never	
1975	4.9%	28.4	48.2	15.5	3.0	(2568)
1976	7.6%	36.8	41.8	11.4	2.4	(3000)
1977	8.9%	39.5	40.6	9.4	1.7	(3165)
1978	7.4%	36.8	41.4	12.6	1.9	(3747)
1979	6.4%	31.9	45.1	14.7	1.9	(3313)
1980	5.1%	32.3	45.9	14.5	2.3	(3287)
1981	8.1%	38.5	41.1	10.4	1.8	(3622)
1982	7.9%	34.5	43.3	12.3	2.1	(3632)
1983	6.9%	34.2	44.5	12.5	1.9	(3403)
1984	8.7%	38.8	39.8	10.7	1.9	(3285)
1985	10.0%	40.0	38.8	9.4	1.7	(3289)
1986	11.2%	44.9	35.1	7.5	1.2	(3137)
1987	8.7%	37.4	40.9	11.0	2.0	(3314)
1988	8.2%	39.5	41.1	9.8	1.4	(3319)
1989	8.3%	37.9	41.5	10.7	1.7	(2856)
1990	8.1%	37.6	41.6	11.0	1.7	(2589)
1991	7.6%	37.2	41.7	10.9	2.6	(2539)
1992	3.4%	27.1	47.5	18.3	3.7	(2673)

Various: Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or is it run for the benefit of all the people?

	Few Big Interests	All of the People	DK	
7/1978	66%	24	11	(1076)
6/1983	54%	33	12	(1145)
11/1983	59%	30	11	(1093)
2/1985	55%	36	9	(1533)
12/1985	54%	37	9	(1354)
11/1988	57%	35	8	(1627)
9/1990	51%	38	11	(1004)
10/1990	71%	21	8	(960)
10/1990	77%	18	5	(1445)
10/1991	71%	26	3	(1536)
3/1992	75%	19	6	(1638)
4/1992	80%	16	4	(1273)
4/1992	77%	21	2	(1009)
3/1993	68%	23	9	(1000)

Bureau of Social Science Research: 7/78 (11% DK includes 6% Other)

NYT: 6/83, 11/83, 12/85

WP: 9/90

ABC/WP: 10/91

CBS/NYT: 2/85, 11/88, 10/90(2), 3/92

Gallup: 4/92

ABC: 4/92

MS: 3/1993

MTF: Would you say the government is pretty much run for a few big interests looking out for themselves, or is it run for the benefit of all the people?

	1	2	3	4	5
1975	10.5%	24.0	46.6	16.0	2.8 (2528)
1976	9.8%	23.4	48.9	15.0	3.0 (2979)
1977	8.4%	20.1	50.1	18.4	2.9 (3139)
1978	8.7%	20.6	48.9	17.9	3.9 (3731)
1979	9.7%	22.3	49.3	14.9	3.6 (3299)
1980	9.3%	22.6	48.2	16.7	3.2 (3277)
1981	7.8%	22.2	47.7	17.9	4.3 (3611)
1982	9.0%	21.4	48.7	17.5	3.3 (3623)
1983	8.4%	27.3	49.2	17.0	3.2 (3393)
1984	7.0%	20.5	48.4	19.7	4.4 (3272)
1985	7.5%	19.7	48.3	20.4	4.1 (3282)
1986	6.4%	18.3	49.0	21.4	4.9 (3129)
1987	7.9%	20.7	48.4	19.2	3.8 (3302)
1988	7.9%	21.1	50.9	16.0	3.2 (3303)
1989	9.3%	22.5	47.7	16.7	3.8 (2856)
1990	9.1%	22.7	46.7	18.3	3.2 (2578)
1991	10.8%	23.0	47.0	15.6	3.6 (2537)
1992	14.1%	26.7	46.4	10.5	2.3 (2667)

1=Nearly always run for a few big interests

2=Usually run for a few big interests

3=Run some for the big interests, some for the people

4=Usually run for the benefit of all the people

5=Nearly always run for the benefit of all the people

MTF: Do you think some of the people running the government are crooked or dishonest?

	Most	Quite A Few	Some	Hardly Any	None	
1975	16.3%	40.3	40.9	2.1	0.3	(2584)
1976	14.8%	37.3	45.0	2.5	0.4	(3004)
1977	12.6%	34.4	48.7	4.1	0.3	(3173)
1978	13.3%	37.0	46.3	2.9	0.4	(3752)
1979	14.4%	37.6	44.1	3.5	0.4	(3320)
1980	15.5%	34.8	45.3	3.6	0.8	(3290)
1981	11.0%	30.4	53.0	5.2	0.6	(3626)
1982	11.3%	32.8	50.3	5.0	0.6	(3638)
1983	11.2%	32.7	50.3	5.1	0.7	(3409)
1984	10.0%	30.0	53.5	5.8	0.6	(3286)
1985	9.7%	29.6	53.1	7.1	0.4	(3290)
1986	7.1%	26.5	57.2	8.6	0.6	(3132)
1987	9.4%	32.9	51.7	5.6	0.4	(3319)
1988	10.0%	34.8	50.0	4.8	0.4	(3321)
1989	12.6%	35.4	46.7	4.9	0.4	(2861)
1990	13.3%	34.5	47.1	4.4	0.6	(2594)
1991	14.7%	35.6	45.7	3.7	0.3	(2544)
1992	22.0%	37.8	37.4	2.4	0.5	(2671)

MTF: Now we'd like you to make some ratings of how good or bad a job you feel each of the following organizations is doing for the country as a whole. For each one, mark the circle that best describes how you feel. How good or bad a job is being done for the country as a whole by _____?

Large Corporations

	Very Poor	Poor	Fair	Good	Very Good	No Opinion	
1975	8.5%	17.4	35.0	22.4	4.5	12.3	(2904)
1976	5.0%	14.4	35.0	25.5	5.8	14.2	(2971)
1977	5.0%	12.4	34.8	27.2	5.2	15.3	(3109)
1978	4.1%	10.2	34.7	30.2	6.9	14.0	(3727)
1979	4.8%	11.8	35.5	27.0	5.8	15.1	(3264)
1980	6.1%	15.8	35.9	24.0	5.1	13.1	(3253)
1981	3.7%	12.0	35.6	28.1	6.8	13.7	(3616)
1982	4.4%	12.3	36.3	28.1	5.5	13.4	(3649)
1983	2.7%	9.6	33.6	31.1	7.6	15.4	(3332)
1984	2.1%	6.0	30.7	36.6	8.8	15.7	(3234)
1985	1.9%	6.3	29.3	34.6	10.3	17.6	(3238)
1986	1.9%	5.8	26.7	37.2	10.4	17.9	(3136)
1987	1.8%	5.3	27.4	36.8	10.1	18.7	(3321)
1988	2.1%	5.9	26.1	36.7	10.7	18.5	(3327)
1989	2.6%	6.5	27.5	34.8	10.3	18.3	(2817)
1990	3.7%	9.8	30.1	29.9	8.5	18.1	(2561)
1991	3.7%	10.2	29.1	29.6	6.7	20.7	(2561)
1992	5.4%	12.6	33.3	26.0	5.8	17.0	(2666)

The President and his Administration

1975	14.1%	18.3	36.8	16.6	3.3	10.9	(2903)
1976	11.0%	16.6	38.7	19.7	4.1	9.9	(2973)
1977	5.4%	8.1	31.5	31.2	10.2	13.5	(3106)
1978	10.1%	15.8	37.8	21.4	4.8	10.2	(3737)
1979	12.1%	20.0	37.7	17.4	3.7	9.1	(3261)
1980	16.9%	21.8	34.3	15.3	3.9	7.8	(3261)
1981	7.0%	9.4	28.7	30.8	12.0	12.2	(3609)
1982	14.7%	17.1	31.4	21.1	7.5	8.2	(3645)
1983	12.6%	16.4	31.2	22.8	8.3	8.7	(3335)
1984	7.8%	10.6	28.3	30.6	13.3	9.5	(3238)
1985	7.9%	10.1	27.0	29.3	16.6	9.2	(3238)
1986	5.8%	7.8	23.1	32.6	21.8	8.8	(3128)
1987	9.8%	13.9	30.6	25.4	9.8	10.4	(3323)
1988	8.7%	13.1	31.6	25.8	9.5	11.4	(3334)
1989	6.0%	10.2	32.1	27.4	9.0	15.3	(2812)
1990	4.9%	10.1	32.5	33.6	8.2	10.6	(2580)
1991	4.5%	7.3	23.3	34.4	22.4	8.2	(2557)
1992	13.7%	21.6	31.2	19.6	4.2	9.7	(2666)

The U.S. Military

1975	4.9%	5.4	26.3	34.4	17.8	11.2 (2911)
1976	3.5%	5.5	24.3	34.8	19.6	12.3 (2978)
1977	3.2%	4.8	24.4	35.6	17.5	14.6 (3104)
1978	2.7%	4.4	25.0	34.6	18.6	14.8 (3728)
1979	4.2%	7.7	28.7	31.9	13.7	13.7 (3259)
1980	6.1%	11.4	28.5	29.1	11.2	13.7 (3247)
1981	4.9%	10.5	29.3	29.8	13.3	12.2 (3604)
1982	4.1%	6.4	25.7	34.2	16.6	12.9 (3638)
1983	3.2%	4.7	23.5	36.7	19.6	12.3 (3327)
1984	2.4%	3.2	22.2	36.6	24.8	11.2 (3238)
1985	2.3%	3.1	22.0	37.5	22.7	12.3 (3235)
1986	2.2%	2.1	15.8	37.2	29.2	13.4 (3115)
1987	2.3%	3.0	17.7	38.2	24.0	14.9 (3317)
1988	3.0%	2.8	19.3	37.8	23.1	14.0 (3329)
1989	2.8%	3.1	20.3	36.9	23.2	13.7 (2811)
1990	2.8%	3.8	20.3	37.8	21.0	14.3 (2583)
1991	1.1%	1.5	9.7	24.5	56.1	7.1 (2547)
1992	3.2%	3.3	20.0	32.3	29.9	11.3 (2660)

MTF: Some people think that there ought to be changes in the amount of influence and power that certain organizations have in our society. Do you think the following organizations should have more influence, less influence or about the same amount of influence as they have now?

Large Corporations

	Much Less	Less	Same as Now	More	Much More	No Opinion	
1975	13.2%	37.1	25.6	8.4	3.2	12.4	(2929)
1976	12.5%	39.0	25.0	7.6	3.2	12.7	(2947)
1977	11.6%	36.9	27.4	7.8	3.4	13.0	(3098)
1978	9.3%	35.3	30.0	8.5	3.2	13.7	(3694)
1979	11.8%	35.3	29.3	7.7	3.0	13.0	(3266)
1980	13.0%	35.3	26.8	9.4	3.2	12.2	(3208)
1981	8.3%	35.8	29.6	10.1	3.4	12.7	(3596)
1982	7.2%	31.1	34.2	10.1	4.0	13.5	(2619)
1983	6.1%	29.4	36.9	10.5	3.4	13.7	(3278)
1984	4.8%	27.0	39.3	10.2	4.4	14.3	(3225)
1985	5.4%	27.1	39.0	10.3	3.5	14.6	(3227)
1986	4.5%	25.9	39.5	11.0	3.7	15.5	(3071)
1987	4.7%	24.1	40.8	11.4	3.7	15.3	(3324)
1988	3.9%	22.6	41.7	11.8	4.7	15.4	(3288)
1989	5.0%	22.3	39.1	13.2	4.4	15.9	(2824)
1990	5.0%	23.8	39.4	11.0	4.2	16.6	(2573)
1991	5.3%	23.7	38.4	12.1	4.5	16.0	(2511)
1992	6.0%	25.5	33.2	11.5	5.2	18.6	(2671)

The Presidency and the Administration

1975	6.3%	19.3	33.9	17.6	10.5	12.3	(2917)
1976	5.1%	17.4	38.2	16.5	9.9	12.8	(2946)
1977	3.3%	11.5	40.2	20.8	11.6	12.5	(3091)
1978	4.3%	12.3	39.6	20.8	11.9	11.0	(3695)
1979	4.8%	13.4	37.0	22.5	10.9	11.5	(3249)
1980	4.4%	10.9	32.4	25.6	15.8	10.9	(3201)
1981	4.0%	10.3	35.7	25.5	15.5	9.1	(3590)
1982	5.1%	14.5	36.5	21.3	11.8	10.8	(3624)
1983	4.2%	11.7	39.4	21.1	11.7	11.9	(3276)
1984	4.3%	9.6	40.7	23.2	12.2	10.1	(3225)
1985	4.0%	11.6	40.6	21.4	11.3	11.1	(3222)
1986	3.1%	9.8	42.9	22.4	11.0	10.8	(3077)
1987	4.3%	10.4	39.4	21.4	12.4	12.1	(3321)
1988	3.3%	10.6	41.4	22.4	10.8	11.4	(3285)
1989	4.0%	10.1	39.8	21.9	12.3	11.8	(2823)
1990	2.8%	8.8	41.8	23.6	10.4	12.7	(2571)
1991	3.2%	10.0	46.6	19.0	9.0	12.3	(2509)
1992	4.7%	11.5	36.8	20.6	12.5	13.9	(2671)

The U.S. Military

1975	5.5%	9.4	41.4	19.3	13.2	11.2	(2911)
1976	4.8%	8.7	39.7	21.1	13.4	12.5	(2945)
1977	3.8%	8.5	41.7	21.3	11.2	13.6	(3091)
1978	4.3%	8.0	40.3	21.1	14.4	11.8	(3691)
1979	5.2%	8.7	39.4	22.3	13.1	11.4	(3256)
1980	4.3%	7.5	32.3	26.4	18.8	10.8	(3207)
1981	4.4%	7.6	32.1	24.8	20.5	10.6	(3588)
1982	5.3%	9.0	34.6	23.8	17.4	10.0	(3629)
1983	3.8%	8.0	37.4	24.0	15.8	11.0	(3275)
1984	4.8%	8.2	37.7	22.4	16.9	10.0	(3227)
1985	5.3%	10.3	38.8	20.2	13.6	11.7	(3221)
1986	4.2%	8.1	39.5	21.6	15.7	10.9	(3072)
1987	4.7%	9.3	38.9	21.7	12.8	12.5	(3322)
1988	4.0%	8.2	38.5	23.3	14.2	11.7	(3281)
1989	4.4%	8.9	38.0	21.8	15.1	11.8	(2822)
1990	4.9%	9.5	39.6	20.3	12.5	13.3	(2574)
1991	5.2%	7.8	39.4	22.5	15.6	10.6	(2514)
1992	5.8%	10.2	39.2	18.1	12.1	14.5	(2672)

MTF: Apart from the particular kind of work you want to do, how would you rate each of the following settings as a place of work?

Working in a Government Agency

	Not at all Acceptable	Somewhat Acceptable	Acceptable	Desirable	
1975	15.2%	25.5	40.3	18.9	(2967)
1976	21.1%	27.2	33.1	18.1	(2979)
1977	20.2%	28.2	34.0	17.6	(3081)
1978	22.2%	32.0	31.4	14.5	(3741)
1979	21.6%	30.8	31.1	16.5	(3278)
1980	20.6%	32.7	31.7	15.9	(3255)
1981	20.5%	32.6	31.1	15.7	(3633)
1982	21.1%	33.8	30.6	14.5	(3585)
1983	19.3%	32.6	30.7	17.4	(3308)
1984	18.3%	30.8	33.9	16.9	(3275)
1985	16.0%	29.8	35.4	18.8	(3258)
1986	16.4%	29.8	34.3	19.5	(3048)
1987	16.9%	30.5	35.3	17.4	(3328)
1988	15.1%	30.2	34.3	20.4	(3307)
1989	15.8%	27.1	36.7	20.4	(2828)
1990	15.2%	29.3	34.8	20.7	(2584)
1991	15.3%	27.7	36.9	20.0	(2578)
1992	16.5%	29.1	35.2	19.2	(2711)

Working in the Military Services

1975	39.2%	29.4	20.9	10.5	(2974)
1976	39.2%	29.1	20.6	11.2	(2983)
1977	43.7%	29.6	17.6	9.2	(3079)
1978	44.8%	29.1	18.3	7.8	(3733)
1979	48.7%	27.7	16.9	6.7	(3278)
1980	48.9%	28.7	15.5	6.9	(3258)
1981	47.3%	28.7	16.0	8.0	(3626)
1982	46.1%	29.2	16.9	7.7	(3585)
1983	43.5%	28.1	17.5	10.9	(3309)
1984	44.0%	30.2	17.1	8.7	(3275)
1985	44.2%	28.6	17.1	10.1	(3257)
1986	44.8%	28.2	16.6	10.5	(3048)
1987	44.6%	27.7	17.5	10.2	(3333)
1988	46.0%	28.1	16.6	9.3	(3308)
1989	47.9%	25.1	16.2	10.7	(2829)
1990	47.8%	27.2	15.6	9.4	(2583)
1991	44.5%	27.1	18.9	9.6	(2578)
1992	46.1%	28.2	17.4	8.4	(2714)

MTF: Despite its many faults, our system of doing things is still the best in the world.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	9.3%	12.6	22.4	28.5	27.2	(2998)
1976	6.5%	7.4	22.1	32.0	31.9	(2993)
1977	5.7%	7.1	21.5	30.4	35.3	(3159)
1978	6.9%	7.0	21.4	31.3	33.3	(3748)
1979	7.2%	7.5	23.7	30.6	31.0	(3337)
1980	7.1%	8.8	20.4	31.3	32.4	(3265)
1981	5.1%	6.6	20.0	30.7	37.5	(3580)
1982	5.7%	6.9	20.8	30.3	36.3	(3634)
1983	5.2%	7.2	20.7	32.7	34.2	(3397)
1984	5.8%	6.3	20.2	31.3	36.4	(3250)
1985	5.3%	8.0	21.1	31.2	34.4	(3267)
1986	5.9%	6.8	21.6	32.2	33.6	(3137)
1987	5.7%	8.8	24.9	30.9	29.7	(3322)
1988	6.3%	8.7	25.3	30.0	29.4	(3352)
1989	7.4%	8.7	26.4	31.5	25.9	(2834)
1990	7.2%	9.3	25.8	31.9	25.8	(2600)
1991	6.4%	8.6	26.1	31.6	27.3	(2538)
1992	10.4%	11.9	28.9	29.7	19.1	(2652)

MTF: To what extent do you think the things listed below will prevent you from getting the kind of work you would like to have?

Your political views

	Not at All	Somewhat	A Lot	Don't Know	
1976	80.2%	9.3	2.5	8.0	(2870)
1977	80.5%	10.3	2.0	8.1	(3007)
1978	81.1%	10.0	1.8	7.1	(3602)
1979	82.0%	9.8	2.4	5.8	(3169)
1980	83.5%	8.7	1.4	6.5	(3156)
1981	82.9%	8.8	2.0	6.2	(3497)
1982	81.5%	10.0	1.3	7.1	(3506)
1983	81.6%	8.7	1.5	8.2	(3184)
1984	82.9%	9.3	1.1	6.7	(3138)
1985	83.0%	8.6	2.0	6.4	(3172)
1986	83.7%	8.5	1.5	6.3	(2992)
1987	82.2%	9.1	2.2	6.6	(3274)
1988	82.2%	8.8	1.7	7.2	(3235)
1989	78.4%	12.7	1.4	7.5	(2784)
1990	78.2%	12.1	2.0	7.7	(2528)
1991	78.8%	12.4	1.4	7.1	(2468)
1992	79.3%	11.2	2.7	6.9	(2632)

Patriotism

Pride

Gallup: Here are some questions about whether you are satisfied or dissatisfied with various things about America today. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the amount of pride Americans take in their country?

	5/1991	1/1992
Satisfied	78%	60%
Dissatisfied	20	38
DK	2	2
	(1003)	(1421)

Gallup: Suppose you were talking to a person, in a general way, about the United States and other countries. Which one of these statements best expresses your own point of view?

	5/1955	5/1991
The United States is the greatest country in the world, better than all countries in every possible way	66%	37%
The United States is a great country, but so are certain other countries	31	54
In many respects, certain other countries are better than the United States	1	9
No opinion	1	-
	(1504)	(1003)

Gallup: How proud are you to be an American? Very proud, quite proud, not very proud, not at all proud?

	1981	6/1986	5/1991
Very proud	80%	89%	77%
Quite proud	16	10	19
Not very proud	2	1	3
Not at all proud	1	-	-
No opinion	2	-	1
	(1729)	(1004)	(1003)

Civic Services/Roper: How proud are you to be an American, are you extremely proud, somewhat proud, or not proud?

	3/1981	11/1981 ^a
Extremely proud	78%	81%
Somewhat proud	13	16
Not proud	2	1
No opinion	2	1
	(1551)	(1500)

^aRoper

AP: Generally speaking, how proud are you to be an American?

	6/1991
Extremely proud	87%
Somewhat proud	11
Not proud at all	1
DK/Refused	1
	(1004)

Expressed Patriotism

Black/PSRA: I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it.

I am very patriotic

	3/1991 ^a	11/1991	5/1992
Completely agree	65%	58%	52%
Mostly agree	29	33	39
Mostly disagree	2	5	5
Completely disagree	3	2	2
DK	1	2	2
	(622)	(2020)	(3517)

^aBlack

ABC-CBS/NYT: Do you consider yourself strongly patriotic, somewhat patriotic, or not very patriotic at all?

	2/1991	5/1991 ^a	6/1991 ^a
Strongly patriotic	70%	65%	55%
Somewhat patriotic	26	29	37
Not very patriotic	4	5	5
DK/Refused	-	1	3
	(778)	(1511)	(1424)

^aCBS/NYT: There's been a lot of talk in the last few years about patriotism in America. Do...

ABC/WP: Would you say there is too much emphasis put on patriotism these days, not enough emphasis, or about the right amount?

	5-6/1991
Too much	14%
About the right amount	48
Not enough	36
DK	2
	(1511)

ABC & ABC/WP: Has the United States role in the Persian Gulf increased or decreased your patriotism?

	2/1991	6/1991*
Increased	71%	68%
Stayed the same	21	22
Decreased	7	9
DK	1	1
	(778)	(1511)

*ABC/WP

My Country Right or Wrong

Gallup/PSRA: Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it.

We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong.

4-5/87 5/88 1-2/89 5/90 10/91 5-6/92 5/93

Completely agree	17%	23%	22%	22%	30%	24%	21%
Mostly agree	37	34	35	33	30	33	34
Mostly disagree	27	24	23	24	21	25	29
Completely disagree	13	14	15	16	16	14	13
DK	6	5	5	5	3	4	3

(4244) (2048) (3021) (3004) (2020) (3517) (1507)

PSRA: For each statement tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it, or completely disagree with it.

We should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong.

10-11/1991

Completely agree	30%
Mostly agree	30
Mostly disagree	21
Completely disagree	16
DK	3

(2020)

KPA: In general, would you say you agree or disagree with the expression, "my country, right or wrong"?

1/1989

Agree	59%
Disagree	31
Not sure	9

(1000)

Gallup: Please tell me if you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, strongly disagree with the following statement:

My country right or wrong.

2/1991

Agree strongly	51%
Agree somewhat	20
Disagree somewhat	13
Strongly disagree	12
DK/Refused	4

(1013)

Symbols: The Flag and National Anthem

WP: Do you happen to fly a flag on national holidays such as Memorial Day or the Fourth of July?

6/1989

Yes	46%
No	54
DK	-

(1015)

Gallup: Do you display an American flag outside your home on national holidays or other days of the year?

6/1986 5/1991

Yes	43%	59%
No	47	36
No flag	7	3
No place for flag	3	2

(1004) (1003)

CBS/NYT: Do you or members of your household usually fly the American flag on holidays, or is that not something you usually do?

6/1991

Yes	54%
No	45
DK	1

(1424)

Gallup: Do you think U.S. school children should be required to pledge allegiance to the flag in all U.S. schools or not?

5/1991

Yes	78%
No	20
DK	2

(1003)

Gallup: Would you like to see the American flag displayed more frequently than it is now, less frequently than it is now, or is it displayed about the right amount?

5/1991

More	53%
Same	44
Less	2
DK	1

(1003)

Gallup: Would you like to see the national anthem played more often than it is now, less often, or is it played about the right amount?

5/1991

More	43%
Same	53
Less	2
DK	2

(1003)

Citizen of the World

MTF: It would be better if all felt more like citizens of the world than of any particular country.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	7.1%	11.9	23.4	27.0	30.7	(2916)
1976	12.1%	14.7	17.7	27.8	27.6	(2954)
1977	11.1%	13.3	17.9	27.2	30.4	(3081)
1978	11.5%	13.3	17.2	29.5	29.4	(3736)
1979	11.9%	13.5	18.9	27.0	28.7	(3276)
1980	10.4%	12.1	17.9	28.8	30.9	(3253)
1981	10.6%	13.0	18.1	28.5	30.0	(3620)
1982	10.3%	11.8	18.8	28.8	30.3	(3585)
1983	11.9%	12.6	20.8	28.4	26.3	(3320)
1984	9.8%	12.4	19.4	29.7	28.8	(3268)
1985	10.3%	11.1	19.6	29.0	30.1	(3259)
1986	9.9%	11.4	19.2	30.7	28.8	(3045)
1987	9.5%	12.6	21.0	29.0	28.0	(3346)
1988	9.6%	12.7	21.7	28.2	27.8	(3285)
1989	10.8%	11.3	22.7	27.6	27.5	(2818)
1990	8.7%	11.7	22.1	29.2	28.3	(2572)
1991	11.4%	11.4	21.5	28.1	27.6	(2573)
1992	11.0%	11.7	23.0	27.1	27.2	(2713)

Patriotism and Politics

Hart/Breglio: I'm going to read you five qualities or values that people might look for in a president. Please tell me which one or two you think best describes Bill Clinton/George Bush.

7/1992

	Clinton	Bush
Strongly support equality for all Americans	37%	11%
Patriotic, believes in America	28	56
Sticks to his principles	14	19
Lives by a strict moral code, has strong faith in God	8	40
Compassionate, believe in helping people in need	39	14
All equally	1	2
None of these	8	7
Not sure	11	3

(1105)

Adds to more than 100% due to multiple mentions.

Hart/Breglio: During political campaigns, candidates are often accused of not having important qualities. For each quality I read, please tell me whether you are satisfied with both of the (1992) presidential candidates on that quality or not. When it comes to being patriotic are you satisfied with both presidential candidates on that quality, or are you dissatisfied with one or both or them? IF EITHER CANDIDATE IS UNSATISFACTORY, ASK:

Which candidate are you dissatisfied with on being patriotic, George Bush, Bill Clinton, or are you dissatisfied with both candidates on that quality?

9/1992

Satisfied with both	70%
Dissatisfied with Bush	6
Dissatisfied with Clinton	18
Dissatisfied with both	4
Not sure	2

(1506)

LAT: Which political party's politicians tend to be more patriotic: the Democrats, the Republicans, or isn't there much difference between Democrats and Republicans when it comes to being patriotic?

3/1991

Democrats	4%
Republicans	11
No difference	83
Not sure	2

(1836)

Hart/Breglio: I'm going to read you five qualities and values that people might look for in a president. Please tell me which one or two you would most want to see in a president.

7/1992

Strongly supports equality for all Americans	47%
Compassionate, believes in helping people in need	33
Lives by a strict moral code, has strong faith in God	32
Sticks to his principles	26
Patriotic, believes in America	25
All equally	8
None of these	1
Not sure	1

(1105)

Adds to more than 100% due to multiple mentions.

CBS/NYT: When you decided how to vote for President, what is the single most important characteristic or qualification you look for in a Presidential candidate?

8/1992

Honesty/Integrity	35%
Leadership ability	13
For the poor and middle class	9
Past record/experience	6
Economic policy	5
Domestic issues	5
Stand on issues	5
Intelligence	3
Ability to make change	1
Stand on abortion	1
Conservative view	1
Employment agenda	1
Charisma	1
His political party	1
Patriotism/morality	1
Everything	1
Other	2
DK	9

(1434)

CIA

Gallup: Here is an interesting experiment. You notice that the boxes on this card go from the highest position of plus 5 for something you like very much--all the way down to the lowest position of minus five--for something you dislike very much. How far up the scale or how far down the scale would you rate the following organizations?

CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)

	7/1973	11/1975	9/1979
+5	13%	8%	9%
+4	10	6	9
+3	18	11	13
+2	13	11	15
+1	13	16	17
-1	5	10	8
-2	4	6	5
-3	3	7	4
-4	2	4	2
-5	5	12	6
Don't Know	14	10	14
	(1544)	(1515)	(1538)

Harris: How would you rate the job the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) is doing as the chief foreign intelligence agency of the U.S. government--excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

	12/1974	8/1975	12/1975 ¹	11/1978 ²
Positive	31%	36%	32%	34%
Negative	39	45	49	43
Not Sure	30	19	19	23
	(1513)	(1403)	(1394)	(1546)

¹ How would you rate the job being done by the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency)--excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

² Gallup

Gallup: I'd like your opinion on some people. As I read from a list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who I name. Probably, there will be some names on this list that you have never heard of. How would you describe your opinion of ...

The C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency)

	6/1985	7/1986	12/1986	4/1987	5/1990 ¹
Very Favorable	7%	7%	6%	5%	8%
Favorable	43	43	32	35	40
Unfavorable	23	18	23	35	22
Very Unfav.	10	6	11	11	11
Not Rated	18	26	28	14	19
	(2104)	(1504)	(4244)	(3004)	(1500)

¹ Princeton Survey Research Associates

PSRA: I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your opinion of the CIA as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

10-11/1991

Very Favorable	8%
Mostly Favorable	42
Mostly Unfavorable	26
Very Unfavorable	9
Can't Rate	15

(2020)

% Very favorable + favorable

10-11/1991

Network TV News	75
The Supreme Court	72
George Bush	71
Business Corporations	65
Congress	51
CIA	50
Dan Quayle	49

CBS/NYT: During the cold war the CIA spent about thirty billion dollars a year, mostly to spy on the Soviet Union. In today's world, do you think federal spending on intelligence agencies like the CIA should be increased, decreased, or kept the same?

10/1991

Increased	5%
Kept the Same	46
Decreased	46
DK	3

(1280)

CBS/NYT: Should the CIA continue to concentrate most of its resources on spying on the Soviet Union or is there some other country the CIA should concentrate on?

IF SOME OTHER COUNTRY:
Which country is that?

10/1991

Soviet Union	22%
Iraq	12
Middle East	7
China	4
Japan	3
Iran	2
Other	23
DK	27

(1280)

Personal Values

Obedience

NORC/GSS: Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are the most desirable for a child to have?

Which one of these three is the most desirable of all?

All of the qualities listed on this card may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important?

And which one of these is the least important of all?

Most Desirable	Three Most Desirable	Not Chosen	Three Least Desirable	Least Desirable	
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That he/the child obeys his/his or her parents well

1973	13.3%	14.4	64.6	6.8	0.9	(1500)
1974	14.5%	18.8	59.8	6.0	0.8	(1481)
1975	13.8%	16.0	64.2	5.6	0.5	(1490)
1976	14.9%	15.7	63.5	5.3	0.6	(1520)
1980	10.2%	18.2	64.0	5.5	2.0	(498)
1980	18.5%	13.6	62.2	4.9	0.8	(487)
1983	16.0%	18.3	59.7	5.6	0.4	(1579)
1984	15.5%	17.2	61.8	4.2	0.6	(1438)
1986	21.2%	16.2	57.8	4.2	0.6	(716)

NORC/GSS: If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him or her for life? Which comes next in importance? Which comes third? Which comes fourth?

To Obey

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	
1986	23.0%	15.8	16.0	32.1	13.1	(732)
1987	20.7%	12.7	15.1	31.1	20.3	(1452)
1988	23.1%	12.5	19.5	29.3	15.6	(977)
1989	19.9%	13.7	16.8	32.9	16.7	(1000)
1990	18.9%	12.4	19.1	32.7	16.9	(871)
1991	19.9%	12.5	14.5	34.9	18.2	(982)
1993	18.5%	14.2	16.9	35.0	15.4	(1031)

Harris: The most important thing a child should learn is obedience and respect for authority.

7-8/1987

Strongly agree	66%
Mildly agree	23
Mildly disagree	7
Strongly disagree	4
Not sure	2

(2003)

Gallup: For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn

2/1993

Strongly agree	66%
Somewhat agree	24
Somewhat disagree	6
Strongly disagree	3
No opinion	1

(818)

ML: I'm going to read you a list of words and phrases and would like you to tell me how well each describes your family--very well, pretty well, not too well, or not well at all. If you aren't sure how well a word describes your family, please say so and we'll go on.

% Very Well

6/1989

Honest	68%
Taught me respect for authority	64%
Taught me responsibility	63%
Provided me with good ethical values	62%
Taught me discipline	61%
Religious	37%

(1200)

MTF: These next questions ask your opinion about a number of topics. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below.

I feel that you can't be a good citizen unless you always obey the law.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Agree	Mostly Agree	
1976	17.8%	16.7	17.2	35.1	13.1	(3011)
1977	19.2%	16.5	19.2	33.9	11.2	(3174)
1978	20.2%	16.8	17.0	34.2	11.7	(3762)
1979	17.6%	18.3	19.9	33.5	10.8	(3350)
1980	16.8%	16.3	19.1	35.8	12.0	(3282)
1981	17.7%	17.2	19.6	33.6	12.0	(3594)
1982	16.6%	17.8	18.3	34.5	12.9	(3657)
1983	19.0%	16.1	19.2	33.3	12.4	(3419)
1984	17.1%	18.4	19.5	33.1	11.9	(3277)
1985	19.2%	18.2	19.7	31.7	10.9	(3281)
1986	19.6%	18.3	21.1	30.4	10.5	(3150)
1987	20.1%	20.0	22.3	29.0	8.6	(3340)
1988	18.2%	19.1	21.1	30.7	10.9	(3366)
1989	18.2%	17.3	22.7	32.6	9.2	(2844)
1990	17.1%	18.1	20.5	32.7	11.5	(2618)
1991	18.0%	19.3	23.6	29.1	10.0	(2555)
1992	19.3%	18.0	21.0	32.2	9.5	(2670)

MTF: I feel a good citizen should go along with whatever the government does even if he disagrees with it.

1976	42.0%	24.1	16.0	13.0	5.0	(3007)
1977	41.2%	22.9	16.1	14.3	5.5	(3171)
1978	43.2%	24.0	15.9	12.7	4.2	(3761)
1979	42.2%	24.9	15.5	12.8	4.5	(3350)
1980	36.6%	24.3	17.8	16.1	5.2	(3275)
1981	37.0%	24.8	15.8	16.5	5.9	(3593)
1982	37.6%	26.1	17.2	14.0	5.2	(3648)
1983	38.9%	24.8	17.9	13.0	5.4	(3419)
1984	39.6%	25.3	17.2	12.5	5.4	(3279)
1985	40.8%	23.8	17.3	13.3	4.7	(3278)
1986	39.0%	24.9	18.3	13.5	4.3	(3150)
1987	44.1%	25.5	16.3	10.6	3.5	(3341)
1988	40.9%	25.9	18.7	10.3	4.3	(3357)
1989	40.3%	25.3	19.1	11.5	3.8	(2841)
1990	42.8%	26.1	16.1	10.9	4.2	(2616)
1991	43.2%	23.3	16.5	13.4	3.6	(2553)
1992	42.8%	25.6	17.3	10.7	3.5	(2663)

NORC/GSS: In general, would you say that people should obey the law without exception, or are there exceptional occasions on which people should follow their consciences even if it means breaking the law?

	Obey Law	Follow Conscience	
1985	43.2%	56.8	(623)
1990	42.9%	57.1	(1110)

Roper: I'd like to know the types of terms you would use to describe Americans. Please look over this list and call off the letters of those terms that you feel are particularly good for describing the American people.

1-2/92

Concern about the environment	56%
Loyal to their country	54
A strong sense of family	52
Friendly	48
A sense of independence	44
Strong religious beliefs	42
Respectful	42
Good manners/polite	40
A commitment to community	38
A strong work ethic	35
Responsible citizens	35
A belief that they can solve community problems	35
Satisfaction with their life	34
Sense of responsibility	31
A belief that they can achieve any goal	30
Thrift, not wasteful	29
Tolerant of others	28
A sense of fairness	27
DK	5

(1189)

CF: Mark one in each row.

People should not obey laws which violate their personal values.

Agree Strongly or
Somewhat

1974	33.6%
1975	31.8%
1976	31.9%
1977	32.0%
1978	32.2%
1979	33.3%
1980	32.3%
1981	32.5%

MTF: Servicemen should obey orders without question.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	16.5%	23.0	27.8	22.0	10.6	(2618)
1976	20.0%	22.1	18.7	26.4	12.9	(2972)
1977	19.6%	21.8	18.2	25.9	14.5	(3137)
1978	18.0%	21.2	20.4	26.7	13.7	(3717)
1979	17.3%	21.2	20.4	28.1	13.1	(3278)
1980	15.7%	18.2	22.1	28.7	15.4	(3259)
1981	14.0%	18.4	20.1	30.5	17.0	(3590)
1982	14.7%	18.2	21.7	29.1	16.3	(3612)
1983	13.1%	18.0	21.7	30.1	17.1	(3386)
1984	13.1%	18.8	21.2	29.6	17.4	(3254)
1985	14.7%	17.6	22.6	30.2	14.9	(3268)
1986	13.5%	18.9	22.2	28.6	16.8	(3109)
1987	13.5%	19.8	23.9	27.5	15.2	(3301)
1988	12.6%	19.2	25.4	27.3	15.5	(3295)
1989	14.2%	19.2	25.0	26.5	15.1	(2839)
1990	14.9%	22.0	22.0	27.4	13.7	(2574)
1991	13.7%	19.5	21.7	29.1	16.0	(2529)
1992	14.7%	21.1	25.9	25.1	13.2	(2659)

Honesty

NORC/GSS: Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are the most desirable for a child to have?

Which one of these three is the most desirable of all?

All of the qualities listed on this card may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important?

And which one of these is the least important of all?

	Most Desirable	Three Most Desirable	Not Chosen	Three Least Desirable	Least Desirable	
That he/the child is honest						
1973	35.9%	28.9	33.3	1.0	0.9	(1500)
1975	38.9%	31.4	28.1	1.4	0.2	(1481)
1976	38.2%	29.3	31.4	0.8	0.3	(1490)
1978	38.2%	30.9	29.5	1.0	0.3	(1520)
1980	40.1%	27.0	31.1	1.0	0.6	(489)
1980	33.1%	30.4	35.7	0.8	0.0	(487)
1983	36.0%	32.0	30.5	1.3	0.3	(1579)
1984	30.9%	28.9	38.5	1.3	0.4	(1438)
1986	24.7%	26.8	47.1	1.3	0.1	(716)

NORC/GSS: I'm going to read seven qualities one might look for in a personal friend. All the qualities may be desirable ones for a personal friend, but I'm interested in those that are most important to you. As I read each one, could you tell me whether it is extremely important, very important, fairly important, not too important, or not at all important.

% extremely important

	1993
Honest	73.2
Responsible	44.3
Fun-loving	17.1
Intelligent	15.3
Creative	3.8
Cultured	3.2
Dynamic	3.1
	(1593)

Harris: Here are a number of statements that people have made which you may or may not agree with; and here is a 6-point rating scale. Please read each statement carefully and indicate how much you agree or disagree with each one. A "6" means you strongly agree and a "1" means you strongly disagree. Just read me the letter of the statement from each small card and your rating from the scale on the large card. By the way, some of these statements may sound pretty much alike; but really, each is different.

% Strongly agree

7/1987

When you know you deserve a deduction and they won't let you take it , it makes sense to take it some other place where they won't catch you on it	4.1%
With what things cost these days, it's okay to cut a few corners on your tax form to help make ends meet	4.4%
It's all right to occasionally underreport certain income or claim an undeserved deduction if you are generally a loyal and law-abiding citizen	4.4%
It's not so wrong to underreport certain income since it does not really hurt anyone	4.7%
It's not so wrong to hold back a little bit on taxes since the government spends too much anyway	7.0%
When you're not really sure whether or not you deserve a tax deduction, it makes sense to take a chance and take the deduction anyway	7.8%
There's nothing wrong with interpreting the ambiguous or gray areas of the tax law to your own advantage	12.5%
Almost every taxpayer would cheat to some extent if he thought he could get away with it	20.7%
The reason that the average taxpayer is honest is because he has no choice since his income comes mainly from wages and salaries	32.1%

(2003)

NORC-GSS: Consider the situations listed below. Do you feel it is wrong or not wrong if...

	1991				
	Not Wrong	A bit Wrong	Wrong	Seriously Wrong	Can't Choose
A taxpayer does not report all of his income in order to pay less income taxes.	3.5	11.6	53.2	28.9	2.8
A person gives the government incorrect information about himself to get government benefits that he is not entitled to.	2.0	3.7	44.0	48.4	1.9

(1332)

Gallup-Teens: Of the following personal qualities, how important do you feel each one is for a person your age to learn - very important, fairly important, or not so important.

	% Very Important		
	1987	1989	1993
Responsibility	89	93	93
Honesty	89	89	90
Self-respect	87	88	90
Hard work	70	81	77
Obedience	60	68	70
Independence	65	67	68
Patience	61	64	73
Religious faith	44	49	52
	(---)	(---)	(---)

CF: For the activities below, indicate which ones you did during the past year.

Copied homework from another student.

Frequently/Occasionally

1987	52.7%	(209,672)
1988	57.1%	(222,296)

Cheated on a test in school.

Yes

1987	30.4%	(209,672)
1988	36.6%	(222,296)

Gallup-Teens: At your school, how common is cheating on tests or exams? Would you say there is a great deal, a fair amount, or not very much cheating?

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Not Very Much	DK
1959	22%	60	18	-- (na)
1978	30%	42	26	2 (na)
1981	37%	39	24	-- (na)
1986	22%	44	30	4 (na)
1989	44%	34	22	-- (500)
1992	21%	34	44	-- (na)

Gallup-Teens: Have you, yourself, ever cheated on a test or exam?

Yes, Have Cheated

1978	62%	(na)
1981	66%	(na)
1986	59%	(na)
1989	54%	(500)
1992	46%	(na)

Conformity

MTF: To what extent do you think the things listed below will prevent you from getting the kind of work you would like to have?

Not wanting to conform

	Not at All	Somewhat	A Lot	Don't Know	
1976	52.1%	22.4	14.0	11.5	(2832)
1977	51.5%	21.7	16.2	10.6	(2974)
1978	52.9%	22.5	14.2	10.3	(3559)
1979	53.3%	21.3	15.4	9.9	(3136)
1980	54.4%	21.7	13.4	10.5	(3131)
1981	51.6%	22.1	15.5	10.8	(3470)
1982	51.9%	22.1	15.8	10.2	(3477)
1983	51.8%	21.8	15.1	11.3	(3154)
1984	53.7%	21.5	14.5	10.3	(3120)
1985	51.8%	22.5	14.9	10.8	(3154)
1986	52.2%	22.3	14.9	10.7	(2978)
1987	51.2%	22.6	16.2	10.0	(3256)
1988	51.0%	20.0	17.7	11.3	(3219)
1989	51.9%	20.9	16.6	10.6	(2778)
1990	48.2%	23.1	17.8	10.9	(2516)
1991	50.0%	21.5	16.6	11.8	(2457)
1992	47.0%	22.7	18.6	11.7	(2624)

Individual Expression

MTF: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

People should do their own thing even if other people think its strange.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	2.7%	3.9	11.1	41.3	41.0	(2761)
1976	3.3%	5.8	13.3	37.0	40.6	(2732)
1977	2.4%	7.3	13.3	36.4	40.6	(2822)
1978	3.3%	7.1	11.8	36.3	41.7	(3330)
1979	3.3%	5.9	13.5	37.7	39.7	(2960)
1980	2.5%	6.8	15.0	36.7	38.9	(2986)
1981	3.0%	6.5	12.4	36.1	42.0	(3287)
1982	2.6%	5.4	13.6	37.0	41.3	(3289)
1983	2.7%	5.1	11.8	37.4	43.0	(3084)
1984	3.6%	6.1	12.1	34.9	43.3	(2985)
1985	3.3%	5.2	12.4	34.7	44.3	(3002)
1986	3.2%	4.8	12.0	33.9	46.1	(2894)
1987	2.1%	4.7	12.9	32.1	48.2	(3019)
1988	2.9%	4.6	12.0	34.3	46.1	(3011)
1989	2.7%	5.5	10.4	31.8	49.7	(2643)
1990	2.7%	3.7	10.5	33.3	49.7	(2443)
1991	1.5%	3.9	9.4	32.0	53.2	(2400)
1992	2.8%	3.2	10.0	30.9	53.1	(2457)

I get a real kick out of doing things that are a little dangerous.

1976	24.2%	21.2	24.8	20.5	9.3	(2721)
1977	24.3%	21.5	26.0	18.3	10.0	(2816)
1978	25.1%	21.4	26.8	18.1	8.7	(3323)
1979	25.3%	20.7	25.0	19.3	9.7	(2956)
1980	24.5%	20.7	26.4	19.7	8.8	(2975)
1981	23.8%	22.8	25.5	19.5	8.4	(3275)
1982	24.7%	20.6	25.2	20.0	9.6	(3287)
1983	23.0%	19.8	26.3	20.2	10.6	(3078)
1984	24.0%	17.9	26.8	19.8	11.4	(2995)
1985	21.1%	18.4	27.7	21.0	11.8	(3008)
1986	19.9%	17.2	28.0	22.3	12.7	(2890)
1987	15.5%	17.5	27.1	25.6	14.1	(2010)
1988	17.2%	16.4	28.3	23.0	15.1	(3012)
1989	17.7%	15.1	27.2	24.9	15.0	(2647)
1990	18.1%	15.1	26.8	26.7	13.3	(2432)
1991	16.7%	17.4	26.5	26.1	13.4	(2390)
1992	15.8%	14.7	26.5	26.1	16.0	(2452)

MTF: I like to test myself every now and then by doing something a little risky.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1976	23.8%	17.2	21.1	25.4	12.6	(2720)
1977	23.5%	18.8	21.1	24.1	12.5	(2806)
1978	23.1%	18.7	21.8	25.3	11.2	(3305)
1979	23.8%	16.7	21.4	26.1	11.9	(2951)
1980	24.2%	17.7	21.5	24.7	11.8	(2970)
1981	23.0%	18.5	22.0	24.1	12.4	(3273)
1982	23.2%	16.5	21.2	26.8	12.3	(3281)
1983	21.5%	16.5	21.4	26.7	14.0	(3070)
1984	20.7%	16.4	22.4	26.7	13.9	(2955)
1985	18.3%	15.5	22.8	28.7	14.8	(2971)
1986	16.5%	14.5	23.3	30.9	14.7	(2863)
1987	13.5%	13.8	22.2	32.6	17.9	(2984)
1988	16.0%	13.9	21.9	31.5	16.7	(2991)
1989	14.5%	13.3	21.5	32.3	18.3	(2620)
1990	16.5%	13.4	19.9	34.3	15.9	(2431)
1991	14.6%	14.5	21.3	33.9	15.7	(2397)
1992	13.9%	13.7	21.6	31.7	19.2	(2453)

Work Values and Relations

NORC/GSS: On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do--would you say very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? (Those in the labor force.)

% Very Satisfied

1972	48.5	(905)
1973	49.5	(831)
1974	49.3	(830)
1975	55.4	(773)
1976	52.9	(769)
1977	48.2	(940)
1978	51.3	(927)
1980	46.6	(895)
1982	47.0	(942)
1983	51.1	(1015)
1984	45.6	(957)
1985	48.0	(985)
1986	48.9	(901)
1987	45.6	(971)
1988	47.6	(952)
1989	48.6	(975)
1990	46.9	(904)
1991	46.0	(946)
1993	43.4	(1057)

NORC/GSS: Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Would you say you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree? (Employed people)

1991

The success of my organization depends a lot on how well I do my job.

Strongly agree	37.6%
Agree	48.6
Disagree	11.3
Strongly disagree	1.3
DK	1.1

(901)

I am willing to work harder than I have to in order to help this organization succeed.

1991

Strongly agree	37.7%
Agree	51.8
Disagree	9.2
Strongly disagree	0.8
DK	0.6

(900)

I feel very little loyalty to this organization.

Strongly agree	4.9
Agree	12.6
Disagree	44.6
Strongly disagree	37.4
DK	0.6

(899)

I would take almost any job to keep working for this organization.

Strongly agree	10.3%
Agree	24.8
Disagree	47.0
Strongly disagree	15.8
DK	2.1

(896)

I find that my values and the organization's values are very similar.

Strongly agree	20.6%
Agree	55.3
Disagree	17.9
Strongly disagree	3.8
DK	2.4

(899)

I am proud to be working for this organization.

Strongly agree	29.8%
Agree	59.2
Disagree	8.3
Strongly disagree	1.4
DK	1.2

(899)

I would turn down another job for more pay in order to stay with this organization.

1991

Strongly agree	12.6%
Agree	23.9
Disagree	41.8
Strongly disagree	17.0
DK	4.7

(899)

NORC/GSS: In general how would you describe relations in your workplace between management and employees? Would you say they are very good, quite good, neither good nor bad, quite bad, or very bad?

Employed people

1991

Very good	32.7%
Quite good	35.6
Neither good nor bad	23.6
Quite bad	4.5
Very bad	2.7
DK	0.9

(883)

In general how would you describe relations in your workplace between coworkers/colleagues?

Employed people

1991

Very good	43.0%
Quite good	38.9
Neither good nor bad	13.9
Quite bad	2.2
Very bad	0.3
DK	1.8

(880)

MTF: To me work is nothing more than making a living.

	Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Neither	Mostly Agree	Agree	
1975	46.3%	23.7	10.8	9.8	9.4	(2986)
1976	44.3%	26.2	6.8	11.6	11.1	(2986)
1977	41.1%	26.5	7.7	11.3	13.5	(3132)
1978	44.7%	24.4	7.7	11.6	11.8	(3765)
1979	42.0%	26.5	8.8	11.8	10.9	(3283)
1980	42.5%	27.3	8.4	11.2	10.6	(3281)
1981	43.6%	27.5	7.9	11.5	9.6	(3643)
1982	41.0%	28.6	8.4	10.7	11.2	(3668)
1983	43.3%	27.1	8.2	10.4	10.5	(3368)
1984	38.9%	28.8	8.7	12.5	11.1	(3276)
1985	38.1%	27.8	10.3	12.4	11.5	(3280)
1986	38.5%	29.4	8.8	12.4	10.9	(3137)
1987	36.2%	29.9	10.0	12.6	11.2	(3337)
1988	37.2%	28.9	9.1	13.0	11.9	(3363)
1989	35.6%	27.8	10.2	14.3	12.1	(2839)
1990	32.7%	30.2	10.3	14.4	12.4	(2588)
1991	37.1%	25.8	10.0	14.7	12.4	(2563)
1992	32.6%	29.1	11.8	14.6	12.9	(2675)

Privacy

Harris & NORC/GSS: How concerned are you about threats to your personal privacy in America today? Would you say you are very concerned, somewhat concerned, only a little concerned, or not concerned at all?

	Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Only a Little Concerned	Not Concerned at All	DK	
1978	31%	33	17	19	1	(1256)
1982	45%	29	14	11	1	(1513)
1982	45%	29	14	11	1	(1504) ¹
1983	47%	30	15	8	0	(1506)
1990	46%	33	na	na	na	(2254)

¹ NORC/GSS

Cambridge: Do you think we need new laws to protect personal privacy, or are existing laws adequate?

	Need New Laws	Existing Laws Adequate	DK
1988	48%	37	15 (1471)
1989	50%	37	13 (1448)

Harris: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
If we rewrote the Declaration of Independence today, we would probably add "privacy" to the list of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as a fundamental right.

1/1990

Agree	78.3%
Disagree	19.5
Neither	1.1
Not sure	1.1

(2254)

Harris: Have you personally ever been the victim of what you felt was an improper invasion of privacy, or not?

7/1991

Yes	19%
No	78
Not Sure	3
	(1255)

Counterespionage

Wiretapping

NORC/GSS: Everything considered, would you say that in general you approve or disapprove of wiretapping?

	Approve	Disapprove	DK	
1974	17%	80	4	(1484)
1975	16%	80	4	(1490)
1977	18%	78	3	(1530)
1978	19%	78	3	(1532)
1982	19%	77	4	(1506)
1983	19%	78	4	(1599)
1985	23%	74	3	(1534)
1986	22%	74	4	(1470)
1988	20%	74	6	(983)
1989	26%	69	5	(1000)
1990	22%	72	6	(925)
1991	24%	70	6	(1021)
1993	23%	72	6	(1074)

Harris: Do you feel the federal government should be allowed to engage in wiretapping and electronic surveillance, if in each case it had to go to court before hand to obtain court permission, or don't you feel the federal government should ever be allowed to engage in wiretapping or electronic surveillance?

	1974
Allowed	63%
Not Allowed	28
DK	9
	(1495)

Harris: I would like to read you a few suggestions that people have made to improve stability and order in this country. For each, tell me if you would favor or oppose such a step being taken.

1974

	Agree	Disagree	DK
The government should be given the authority to wiretap and use other electronic surveillance to gather evidence against citizens suspected of criminal activity, even if a court does not authorize such activity.	27%	68	5
	(1495)		

Canada: Some people feel that Canada's security service should be able to wire tap the telephones of people who ____? Do you think that the security service should be able to wire tap them or not?

ca. 1986

Allow Wiretapping

People who...	General Public	Elites ¹
hold ideas that may lead to the overthrow of our democratic system	34%	51%
are agents of a foreign government	45%	63%
are suspected of being spies	57%	70%
are suspected of being terrorists	66%	81%
	(2084)	(1348)

¹ Combined samples of legislators, civil servants, police officials, and lawyers.

NORC/GSS: Suppose the police get an anonymous tip that a man with a long criminal record is planning to break into a warehouse. Please circle a number for each question to show if you think police should be allowed without a court order to tap his phone?

	Definitely Allowed	Probably Allowed	Probably Not Allowed	Definitely Not Allowed	
1985	23.5%	22.8	24.9	28.8	(631)
1990	20.4%	28.5	26.9	24.2	(1113)

% Definitely allow

(1990)

Hungary	35.7
Israel	27.6
The Netherlands	25.0
Australia	23.0
Ireland	22.7
United States	20.4
West Germany	16.2
Great Britain	14.7

NORC/GSS: Now, suppose the tip is about a man without a criminal record. Please circle a number for each question to show if you think police be allowed without a court order to tap his phone?

	Definitely Allowed	Probably Allowed	Probably Not Allowed	Definitely Not Allowed	
1985	8.1%	13.9	26.4	51.7	(633)

Lie Detectors

Harris: If someone works in a government agency that uses classified information and there is a leak to the press, do you think it is or is not all right to make all those employees who handle the information take a lie detector test to learn who leaked the information?

1978

	Yes, Take Test	No, Don't Take Test	It Depends	Not Sure	
Public	58%	29	10	3	(1511)
Govt Officials					
Congress	27%	65	6	1	(77)
Law Enforcement	67%	24	7	2	(42)
Regulatory	17%	72	9	2	(53)

Harris: I will read you some practices that have been used by business organizations for different reasons. For each one I would like you to tell me whether they should or should not be forbidden by law. Please think of most jobs in business and government and not jobs that require security clearances or special moral qualities.

1978

	Forbidden	Allowed	DK	
Asking a job applicant to take a lie detector test.	62%	31	7	(1513)
Requiring an employee to take a lie detector test when there is suspicion of theft in his department.	43%	48	9	(1513)

AP/MG: How about if you were applying for a job and the prospective employer asked you to take a lie detector test? Would you object to taking it, or not?

1986

Would object	30%
Not object	65
DK	5
	(1512)

AP/MG: If you were applying for a job, would you refuse to take a lie detector test, even if it meant you wouldn't be hired?

1986

Would refuse	26%
Would not refuse	68
No answer	6

(1512)

Harris: As you know, the number of people caught spying in the U.S. has increased greatly over the past few years. As a way of trying to control the growth of spying in this country, would you favor or oppose...

1986

	Favor	Oppose	DK	
Making most government employees who handle secret information regularly take lie detector tests.	75%	24	1	(1254)

AP/MG: Some people say that lie detector tests are needed in certain circumstances to make sure people in sensitive positions are honest. Other people say that lie detectors are not always accurate and should not be used. Still others say that mandatory lie detector tests are an invasion of a person's right to privacy. I will read a list of circumstances in which lie detectors might be used. For each one, please tell me whether, in your opinion, lie detector tests should or should not be used.

1986

	Should	Should Not	DK	
For periodic testing of government employees who have access to classified information	81%	15	4	(1512)
For testing of employees suspected of stealing from work	75%	21	4	(1512)
For testing in court of people accused of crimes	72%	22	6	(1512)
For testing in court of witnesses	63%	30	7	(1512)
For periodic testing of all government employees	46%	49	5	(1512)
For testing of prospective new employees by companies that are considering hiring them	37%	55	8	(1512)
For testing of all current employees by their companies	27%	66	7	(1512)

Drug Testing

NORC/GSS: When you started to work for your present employer, did you...

Take a drug or alcohol test

1991*

Yes 10.9% (901)

*Employed people

Harris: In the following situations, do you consider it reasonable or unreasonable for employers to require someone with your job to take a scientific test for drug use (READ EACH ITEM)?

1990

	Reasonable	Not Reasonable	DK
In the application process, before being hired	85%	17	1 (2254)
In a randomized drug testing program for all employees	66%	33	1 (2254)
If supervisors feel an employee's behavior shows signs of the effects of drug use	65%	34	1 (2254)

Gallup: The following is a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose_____?

1987

	Strongly Favor	Favor	Oppose	Strongly Oppose	DK
Mandatory drug tests for government employees	24%	41	22	8	6 (4244)

ABC/WP: I'm going to name some groups which some people have suggested should be required to take tests for illegal drug use on a regular basis. After each, please tell me whether you think they should be tested or not?

1989

	Tested	Not Tested	DK	
Airline pilots	94%	6	0	(750)
Federal employees involved in national security areas	93%	6	1	(750)
Police officers	93%	7	0	(750)
Professional Athletes	88%	16	1	(750)
Members of Congress	87%	12	1	(750)
High school students	67%	31	1	(750)

Gallup: Do you favor or oppose new laws to encourage mandatory drug testing in the workplace?

6/1992*

Favor	71%
Oppose	26
No opinion	3

(1260)

*Registered voters

YANK: So you think employers should be allowed or not allowed to require employees to take drug tests?

10/1991

Yes	76%
No	18
Not sure	6

(500)

CBS/NYT: Would you favor a policy that would require workers in general to be tested to determine whether they have used illegal drugs recently, or would that be an unfair invasion of privacy?

4/1992

Favor	65%
Unfair	29
DK	6

(1530)

CF: Employers should be allowed to require drug testing of employees or job applicants.

% Strongly Agree
or Agree

1988	69.8%
1989	76.5%
1990	78.5%
1991	80.8%
1992	82.4%

Employee Screening

Harris: If someone is applying for a job, do you feel it would be appropriate for a prospective employer to (READ EACH ITEM), or not?

1990

	Appropriate	Not Appropriate	Depends on Job	DK	
Check to find out whether the appli- cant has a crimi- nal record	80%	14	5	-	(1511)
Ask that the appli- cant take a writ- ten honesty test	55%	40	4	2	(1511)
Check into the appli- cant's lifestyle or political asso- ciations	12%	85	3	-	(1511)

Personal Information and Credit Checks

Harris: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Consumers have lost all control over how personal information about them is circulated and used by companies.

1990

Agree	71%
Disagree	27
Neither/DK	3

My privacy rights as a consumer in credit reporting are adequately protected today by law and business practices.

1990

Agree	46%
Disagree	51
Neither/DK	3

(2254)

Harris: Have you ever decided not to apply for something like a job, credit, or insurance, because you did not want to provide certain kinds of information?

	Yes, Decided Not to Apply	No, Did Not	DK
1978	14%	85	1 (1496)
1990	30%	69	1 (2254)

Harris: When people (want to borrow money/apply for a credit card), do you think that the company (giving them credit/issuing the credit card) should be able to check on their credit records, or not?

1990

Should be able

Borrow Money	96%
Credit Card	94%

(2254)

Other Measures

Harris: As you know, the number of people caught spying in the U.S. has increased greatly over the past few years. As a way of trying to control the growth of spying in this country, would you favor or oppose...

	1986			
	Favor	Oppose	DK	
Conducting an investigation of the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) and other intelligence agencies to find out why they have been so slow to find and crack down on spies.	86%	12	2	(1254)
Cutting down the number of government documents classified as secret and top secret, so that the number of people with access to such secret material in government is sharply reduced.	80%	17	3	(1254)
Firing managers in government operations who turn out to have spies working for them.	63%	34	4	(1254)

Public Access to Information

Freedom of Information Act

Harris: [Favor or Oppose] Cutting back on the access people have to government records about themselves and public officials under the Freedom of Information Act.

	Favor	Oppose	DK	
1981	33%	63	4	(1252)

Roper: The Reagan Administration thinks a number of government regulations and restrictions have gone too far. Here are some things they propose changing. (CARD SHOWN RESPONDENT) For each one, would you tell me whether you are in favor of it or opposed to it? First, changing the Freedom of Information Act so that the FBI, the CIA, and the Justice Department can keep all the information in their files secret.

	Favor	Oppose	DK	
1982	36%	53	11	(2000)

Harris: Do you agree or disagree that...federal freedom of information laws have gone too far in letting individuals and businesses get government documents.

	Agree	Disagree	Neither	DK	
1990	58%	37	1	4	(2254)

Media Publication

Gallup: As a general rule, do you think the press is too quick to print classified information whether or not it might hurt the nation's security?

1971

Yes	57%
No	30
DK	14

(339)

ORC: Do you think the press should publish top secret government material once it comes into their hands, or should it be withheld until the government decides publication will not harm national security?

1971

Should publish	14%
Should be withheld	76
DK	10

(607)

ORC: Do you think "freedom of the press" includes the freedom of a paper to print stolen top secret government documents, or not?

1971

Yes	15%
No	74
DK	11

(607)

Harris: Now let me read you some statements that have been made about the case of the Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam War. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree.

1971

	Agree	Disagree	DK	
In a democracy such as ours, it is necessary to tell the people the truth about how we got into the war in Vietnam, even if it means printing top secret documents, as long as they are not about today's situation there.	53%	30	18	(1600)
One way to cover up past mistakes such as in Vietnam is to put "top secret" on all the documents and keep them locked up.	40%	46	14	(1600)
Whenever a newspaper obtains a copy of a "top secret" government document, it should go to the government in order to get permission to print it.	61%	24	15	(1600)
It is always wrong for a newspaper to print any document that has "top secret" stamped on it, even if it deals with the past and not the present.	47%	38	15	(1600)

Harris: I am going to read you a list of different types of information that a newspaper might have. For each I would like you to tell me whether you would consider the publishing of this information to be an invasion of privacy or not.

The contents of confidential government papers that reveal incompetence or dishonesty by public officials.

	Invasion of Privacy	Not an Invasion	Not Sure	
1978	21%	73	6	(1513)

Harris: I will read you a few suggestions that people have made. For each, tell me if you would favor strongly, favor somewhat, oppose somewhat, or oppose strongly such a step be taken.

The government should have the right to prosecute anyone who publishes materials that it classifies as secret.

1978

	Favor Strongly	Favor Somewhat	Oppose Somewhat	Oppose Strongly	Not Sure	
Public	48%	22	12	11	6	(1512)
Govt Officials						
Congress	19%	36	13	27	4	(77)
Law Enforcement	60%	14	19	2	5	(42)
Regulatory	25%	21	21	34	0	(53)

PAF: Freedom of expression means different things to different people, now I'm interested in what it means to you. I'll read you some statements about the right of freedom of expression, about what it protects and how far it goes. For each one, tell me whether you agree if this is a freedom of expression right or not. If you're not sure, just say so.

1979

	Agree	Disagree	DK	
A newspaper has a right to print top secret materials as long as it doesn't endanger national security.	42%	47	11	(1000)

NORC/GSS: Suppose a newspaper got hold of confidential government papers about defense plans and wanted to publish them. Should the newspaper be allowed to publish them or should the government have the power to prevent publication?

	Allow to Publish	Prevent Publication	
1985	16.8%	83.2	(587)

Now suppose the confidential government papers were about economic plans. Should the newspaper be allowed to publish the papers or should the government have the power to prevent publication?

	Allow to Publish	Prevent Publication	
1985	61.3%	38.7	(586)

Gallup: Which of the following, if any, would you favor as a way of reducing news leaks that might affect national security?

1986¹

Have a special unit in the White House to investigate leaks	34%
Requiring all senior officials to take lie detector tests on a regular basis	20
Allow the Justice Department to block publication of information it feels threatens national security	46
Other	3
None of these	12
DK	6

(1504)

¹ Percents add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

Other

CBS: Do you think that the details of many military events (in the war with Iraq) should remain secret, or should the American public be informed about them as soon as possible after they happened?

1/1991

Remain secret	55%
Be informed	38
DK	7

(1173)

Punishments

Capital Punishment

NORC: If someone is suspected of treason or other serious crimes, he shouldn't be entitled to be let out on bail.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1978	20%	43	11	23	3

Roper: Opinions differ as to whether there should be a death penalty for certain very serious crimes, or whether there should not be a death penalty for any crime, no matter how serious it is, How do you feel--are you in favor of the death penalty for certain crimes, or opposed to the death penalty under any circumstances?

If Favor:

For which of these crimes, if any, would you favor the death penalty?

	1974	1976	1980
Kidnapping when the victim is killed	62%	57%	63%
Premeditated murder	60	59	67
A paid killing	58	56	64
Hijacking a plane that results in death	55	50	55
The killing of a policeman or prison guard	54	52	58
Assassinating a high public official	53	50	56
Blowing up a government building that results in death	53	49	56
Armed robbery that results in death	51	50	59
Arson that results in death	50	48	55
Treason, espionage	37	34	37
	(1984)	(2002)	(2002)

Gallup: Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of ...

	1978			1981		
	Favor	Oppose	DK	Favor	Oppose	DK
Murder	62%	27	11	66%	25	9
Hijacking an airplane	37%	52	11	22%	68	10
Treason	36%	50	14	39%	49	12
Rape	32%	56	12	37%	53	10
	(1560)			(1609)		

Gallup: Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of...

	1985			1988		
	Favor	Oppose	DK	Favor	Oppose	DK
Murder	75%	17	8	79%	16	5
Attempting to assassinate the President	57%	37	6	63%	33	4
Spying for a foreign nation during peacetime	48%	47	5	42%	50	8
Rape	45%	45	10	51%	42	7
Hijacking a plane	45%	48	10	49%	45	6
Drug dealers not convicted of murder	--	--	--	38%	55	7
	(1008)			(1001)		

Harris: As you know, the number of people caught spying in the U.S. has increased greatly over the past few years. As a way of trying to control the growth of spying in this country, would you favor or oppose...

	1986		
	Favor	Oppose	DK
Giving a mandatory death penalty to anyone caught selling or giving secrets to a foreign country.	62%	36	2 (1254)

AP/MG: For what crimes besides murder should the death penalty be imposed?

1986

Rape	54%
Child molestation or abuse	35
Treason against the U.S. (Traitors, espionage, etc.)	20
Drug dealing	14
Other	21
DK	5
	(1251)

Pollard

CBS/NYT: Jonathan Pollard was convicted of spying for Israel. Do you feel angry, do you feel embarrassed, or do you feel sympathetic toward him? (IF MORE THAN ONE ANSWER, PROBE: What do you feel most strongly?)

1987

Angry	48%
Embarrassed	12
Sympathetic	7
Other	7
DK	27

(1045)

CBS/NYT: Jonathan Pollard was sentenced to life in prison for spying for Israel. Do you think that sentence was too harsh, too lenient, or was the sentence the right one?

1987

Too harsh	16%
Too lenient	9
Right one	57
DK	17

(1045)

CBS/NYT: Which bothers you more--to learn that Israel spied against the United States, or to learn that once again Russia was caught spying against the United States?

1987

Israel	26%
Russia	46
Both equal	15
DK	13

(1045)

Goals and Priorities

Hart/Teeter & Hart/Breglio: Let me read a number of areas that the President of the United States deals with as part of his job. Which of the following do you think should be the President's most important priority?

	7/91	8/91	10/91	9/92 ^a
Dealing with the U.S. economy	37%	36%	35%	47%
Dealing with domestic issues such as education, health care, and the environment	43	45	41	38
Dealing with national security and U.S. foreign policy	13	12	12	8
All of these equally	6	1	10	6
Not sure	1	2	2	1
	(1004)	(800)	(1500)	(1506)

^aHart and Breglio

Hart/Teeter: Let me read you a list of goals that have been proposed for the federal government to achieve. Please tell me which one [4/1991: or two] of these goals you think should be the top priority or priorities for the federal government...

	1/93	3/93	4/93 ^c
Eliminating the federal budget deficit ^a	31%	32%	38%
Reducing the influence of lobbyists and campaign contributors ^b	7	8	26
Stimulating economic growth	24	23	*
Creating more jobs	*	*	38
Reforming the health care system	18	17	32
Stopping unfair trade practices by foreign competitors	*	*	22
Dealing with U.S. foreign policy issues and crises	4	8	*
Providing aid to promote democracy and political stability in Russia	*	*	4
Cutting taxes for the middle class	11	13	*
All equally	4	3	3
Not sure	1	2	1
	(1009)	(1503)	(1004)

^aReducing the federal budget deficit used in 1 & 3/1993.

^bReducing the influence of lobbyists and special interests 1 & 3/1993.

^cAdds to more than 100% due to multiple answers.

MS: Here are some goals that our nation could try to accomplish over the next five years or so. For each one, please tell me if you think it should be an extremely important goal, a very important goal, a somewhat important goal, or a not very important goal?

% Extremely Important

12/1991

Keeping nuclear weapons out of the hands of aggressive or desperate groups in unstable regions of the world	56
Reducing violent crime	52
Making our country more economically competitive with Japan and Europe	46
Making sure all Americans can afford high quality health care	46
Reducing international drug trafficking	46
Reducing the federal budget deficit	44
Helping the unemployed in depressed parts of the U.S.	42
Improving air and water quality in all our communities	39
Developing renewable energy resources like solar and wind power	29
Reducing terrorist activities around the world	28
Strengthening the United Nations so it's better able to help us stop the aggression of dictators like Saddam Hussein and Manual Noriega	28
Curbing man-made changes in the global climate like the greenhouse effect	28
Reducing federal taxes	27
Reducing dependence on polluting fuels like oil and coal	21
Helping countries emerging from communism to become more democratic and avoid economic collapse	10

(1000)

Gallup: I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all.

% Very important

10-11/1990

Protecting the jobs of American workers	65
Protecting the interests of American business abroad	63
Defending our allies' security	61
Securing adequate supplies of energy	61
Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons	59
Improving the global environment	58
Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	58
Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression	57
Containing communism	56
Matching Soviet military power	56
Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries	56
Worldwide arms control	53
Strengthening the United Nations	44
Helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations	41
Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations	28

(1662)

Percentages add to more than 100% due to multiple mentions.

II. Differences in Attitudes by Age Groups^a

Disliking Russia (-4 and -5)

Age	Year				Change 93-73
	1974	1982	1990	1993	
18-29	18.3%	41.1%	10.4%	13.5%	- 4.8
30-39	22.4	39.7	16.3	7.5	-14.9
40-49	30.5	46.4	16.0	9.2	-21.3
50-64	31.7	57.3	19.1	14.8	-16.9
65+	37.7	67.1	13.2	15.8	-21.9

Communism as a Form of Government (Worse Form)

	1973	1980	1990	1993
18-29	29.8%	50.4%	43.1%	34.2%
30-39	46.0	49.0	57.8	41.4
40-49	43.6	59.4	43.7	48.4
50-64	51.9	65.8	56.1	58.7
65+	56.4	71.9	59.6	53.0

Defense Spending (Too Little Being Spent)

	1973	1982	1990	1993	
18-29	8.5%	51.0%	10.1%	6.5%	- 2.0
30-39	12.9	54.1	6.6	9.7	- 3.2
40-49	12.3	60.3	16.7	7.4	- 4.9
50-64	14.5	70.4	24.6	14.6	+ 0.1
65+	11.3	68.6	10.2	17.6	+ 6.3

^a For details on question wording see the previous section.

Obligation of Men to serve in Military During Peacetime/War
(Very Important)

1984

	Peace	War
18-29	19.9%	72.7%
30-39	33.4	81.1
40-49	41.8	90.5
50-64	39.1	93.0
65+	29.7	90.5

Honesty in a Friend (Extremely Important)

1993

18-29	77.4%
30-39	70.5
40-49	78.7
50-64	73.7
65+	70.8

Employee Satisfied with Job (Very Satisfied)

1993

18-29	32.0%
30-39	45.7
40-49	43.0
50-64	49.7
65+	64.7

Will Work Harder for Employer Than You Have Too (Strongly Agree)

1993

18-29	30.7%
30-39	33.8
40-49	46.1
50-64	42.9
65+	37.0

Not Loyal to Employer (Strongly Disagree)

1993

18-29	28.7%
30-39	35.3
40-49	46.1
50-64	42.9
65+	37.0

Shares Same Values with Employer (Strongly Agree)

1993

18-29	12.6%
30-39	18.5
40-49	30.2
50-64	21.7
65+	30.8

Proud of Employer (Strongly Agree)

1993

18-29	22.8%
30-39	26.2
40-49	37.4
50-64	34.0
65+	44.4

Confidence in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government (Great Deal)

Age	Year				Change 93-73
	1973	1980	1990	1993	
18-29	24.6%	12.5%	30.6%	13.1%	-11.5
30-39	29.9	9.1	20.2	13.4	-16.5
40-49	29.1	12.3	17.1	13.9	-15.2
50-64	31.4	12.4	24.8	11.2	-20.2
65+	38.5	17.1	29.0	8.5	-30.0

Confidence in the Military (Great Deal)

	1973	1980	1990	1993	
18-29	24.6%	26.6%	39.8%	39.5%	+14.9
30-39	31.5	20.6	30.3	41.2	+ 9.7
40-49	32.1	29.1	26.6	34.6	+ 2.5
50-64	37.6	35.5	35.0	46.1	+ 8.5
65+	42.1	34.6	36.6	53.9	+11.8

Obey Parents (Ranked as Most Important)

	1990	1993
18-29	15.4%	15.6%
30-39	15.0	13.8
40-49	14.9	16.7
50-64	18.8	18.2
65+	31.4	30.2

Obey Law (Should)

	1985
18-29	35.0%
30-39	34.5
40-49	35.1
50-64	53.6
65+	54.9

Privacy (Very Concerned)

	1982
18-29	51.7%
30-39	46.9
40-49	49.4
50-64	49.2
65+	50.6

Wiretapping (Approve)

Age	Year			
	1974	1982	1990	1993
18-29	14.7%	13.9%	25.8%	23.4%
30-39	18.4	16.3	23.6	20.8
40-49	18.8	21.5	15.9	23.9
50-64	20.4	18.8	22.4	27.3
65+	14.5	20.0	28.7	25.9

Tap Phone of Criminal (Allow)

	1985	1990
18-29	39.1%	37.3%
30-39	38.5	45.8
40-49	47.6	49.1
50-64	55.0	53.6
65+	51.3	50.5

Tap Phone of Non-criminal (Allow)

1985

18-29	17.9%
30-39	18.7
40-49	23.5
50-64	28.1
65+	21.2

Papers Publishing Confidential Economic Plans (Allow)

1985

18-29	65.5
30-39	64.5
40-49	64.6
50-64	54.4
65+	57.1

Capital Punishment for Spies in Peacetime (For)

1985

18-29	40
30-49	42
50+	59

Capital Punishment for Murderers (For)

1993

18-29	72.8
30-39	79.2
40-49	78.1
50-64	76.0
65+	80.4

Appendix 1: The Impact of the Gulf War on Public Opinion

The Gulf War led to unusually large and rapid shifts in public opinion. Of the 20 largest shifts in public opinion measured by the GSS from 1972 to 1991, six were due to the Gulf War. No other event during these two decades caused more than two of the top 20 shifts in public opinion (Smith, 1993). However, almost all of the Gulf War changes were short-lived. Within a month of the war's conclusion some attitudes began to reverse direction and within six months to a year virtually all attitudes had returned to pre-war levels.

The major impacts of the Gulf War were to temporarily increase 1) concern about war and related repercussions and 2) patriotism, support for the government, and confidence in the military. Illustrative of the shifts are the following:

1. Among both adults and students support for defense had fallen from high levels in the early 1980s to low and stable levels in the late 1980s. In 1991 the proportion thinking that defense spending was too high fell sharply and those saying spending was about right notably increased. There was also some minor growth in those saying defense spending was too low. By 1992/93 defense spending was back to or even lower than pre-Gulf War levels. For example, on the GSS the % saying there was too much defense spending was 44% in 1990, 28% in 1991, and 43% in 1993.

2. Confidence in the presidency and government increased markedly during the Gulf War, but then quickly subsided. For example, in April, 1990 only 25% felt the government did what was right at least most of the time. In March 1991, this reached 47%, but by June 1992 it was down to 23%.

3. Patriotism and pride in America were high during the Gulf War, but faded quickly. For example, in February, 1991 70% described themselves as "strongly patriotic". This fell to 65% in May, 1991 and only 55% in June, 1991.

In analyzing trends in public opinion it is important to separate shifts in public opinion due to the Gulf War from secular trends in public opinion. First, one wants to correctly attribute causation. In order to understand the movement of public opinion, we need to identify shifts that are due to the Gulf War as opposed to those due to the collapse of Communism, the recession of the early 1990s, and other factors. In this paper over 20 items show definite Gulf War effects (see pages 27-29, 34-38, 41-43, 48, 53, 54, 59, 61-63, 65, 78) Second, because of its rapid see-saw nature, transitory shifts due to the Gulf War need to be distinguished from more enduring trends in attitudes.

The impact of the Gulf War on public opinion provides the best example in 50 years of public opinion research of two important (but contradictory) principles of opinion dynamics. First, changes in events can massively change attitudes. This is particularly true

of international and national security events (Smith, 1993). Second, even large changes in attitudes may not represent lasting or fundamental shifts in attitudes.

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